TRANSACTIONS

OF THE

Bristol and Gloucestershire Archæological Society

FOR

1906.

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Edited by Rev. C. S. TAYLOR, M.A., F.S.A.

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Bristol and Gloucestershire Archæological Society.

PROCEEDINGS

At the Annual Spring Meeting

At Chepstow, St. Briavels, and Tintern,

Tuesday, May 29th, 1906.

Starting from different points—Bristol, Bath, Cirencester, Stroud, Cheltenham, and Gloucester—the party by different routes reached Chepstow, whence they journeyed together to St. Briavels and Tintern. It is some years since the Society made Chepstow its head-quarters, but no doubt the elder members can recall an agreeable three days' gathering there in 1881, under the presidency of the late Sir John Maclean. On that occasion the excursions embraced some places away from the localities now selected, though Tintern, as might be presumed, was included in the spots visited. The Forest of Dean was then the selected neighbourhood for most of the sight-seeing, Lydney Park (at the invitation of Mr. Bathurst) and the Speech House coming in for attention, while the inaugural address of Sir John specially concerned the Forest district, a circumstance not to be surprised at when his official connection with it is recollected. At that meeting the well-known archæologist, Mr. G. T. Clark, of Dowlais, delivered an address on Chepstow Castle, and a carriage excursion was taken to Beachley and Sedbury Park, in order to inspect Offa's Dyke. Time was also found to see St. Briavels. Some years after the Society paid another visit to Chepstow.

The weather proved propitious for the excursion, and there was a large party, about sixty from Bristol and seventy from Gloucester and other places in the northern part of the county. Among those present were Mr. F. F. Fox (president of the council), the Rev. C. S. Taylor (hon. editor), Canon Bazeley (hon. general secretary), Mr. John E. Pritchard (hon. secretary for Bristol), Mr. G. M. Currie (hon. general treasurer), and others.

The drive along the left bank of the Wye was delightful—the finely-wooded hills, looking at their best in their varied tints of green, and the coppices filled with blue-bells and ferns, charmed the eye. At Woodcroft a short stop was made to see the magnificent view obtained from this point of vantage. In ancient times it would seem that all the woodland enclosed by the Severn, the Wye, and the Leadon, and bounded on the north by a line drawn from Goodrich to Newent, was king's forest; but before the Norman Conquest many parts of this area had ceased to be Crown land and were held by private owners. It is likely that in 1086 the eastern and southern boundaries of the forest were very much what they are now; but Newland and Staunton certainly, and very probably English Bicknor, were clearances from the forest at some later date. Under Kings Henry II., Richard, and John, large tracts of country were brought under the range of the forest laws, but by the Charter of the Forest, 1217, the afforestations made by the two latter kings were at once disafforested, and those made by Henry II. were disafforested, if they were to the injury of landowners and outside the royal demesne. Finally, after a series of perambulations the limits of the afforested districts were brought back to very much what they had been at the accession of Henry II. by a confirmation of the charters by Edward I. in 1301. The Forest of Dean is not mentioned by name in the Great Survey of 1086, but we are told that certain tenants at Dene held their land by the service of guarding the king's forest, and that by command of King William the manors of Hewelsfield and Wyegate were afforested, also that ships going to the forest paid toll at the Castle of Estrighoiel. Giraldus Cambrensis, in his "Itinerary of Archbishop Baldwin through Wales in 1188," speaks of "the noble Forest of Dean" as supplying iron and venison to Gloucester.

In Anglo-Saxon *den* or *denu* signifies a valley, and also a forest; and we find the word used as an affix in other parts of England in which woodland abounded: in Arden (in Warwickshire) and in Tenterden and many others dens (in Kent). As long as the older English alone was spoken it would be the king's "den" or "dene." When Norman-French was transforming our national tongue it would be called the "Forest (forêt) of Dean."

Although we scarcely entered the confines of the forest, every village we passed through abounds in forest lore. Specially is this the case with St. Briavels, where dwelt the King's Constable, the *ex-officio* Warden of the Forest. Parallel to the roads along which we drove on either side of the Wye runs the dyke or boundary line, which one of the Mercian kings constructed more than eleven hundred years ago to mark the western limits of his conquest. If little is told us by British, Roman and English chroniclers of this land between the Severn and the Wye, the materials are ready to hand for reconstructing its early history in its earthworks, its rude stone monuments, its paved roads, its iron mines and cinder heaps, its churches and its ruined chapels, hermitages, wells and castles. Moreover the pickaxe and the shovel have recovered for us coins, ornaments, and tools, which bear the impress of those who have ruled or worked in its secluded depths.

The name of Chepstow does not appear in Domesday. In the Conqueror's time Earl William FitzOsbern built a castle here, which was known as Castellum de Estrighoiel and later on as Striguil. At Hardwicke, on the right bank of the Wye, near its mouth, are some ramparts, called the Bulwarks, constructed probably as an outwork of the ancient town called by the British Caerwent and by the Romans Venta Silurum. These lines of earthworks were no doubt intended to command the entrance to the river and also a ford, a mile above the present town, where the Roman road from Glevum (Gloucester) to Caerwent crossed the Wye. It is likely that they were occupied by King Alfred's forces when the Danes were blockaded at Beachley and starved out in 894.

Chepstow Castle is protected on the north by a high cliff rising out of the deep and rapid stream, and on the south by a ravine, which separates it from the town. On the west, its weakest point, a double line of ditch has been quarried in the rock. It does not appear that there are any traces of fortifications here earlier than the eleventh century, but it seems improbable that the earlier inhabitants would leave a post of such natural strength and importance unprotected by rampart and pallisade. The castle consists of a keep and northern gallery, on either side of which is a ward or fortified court; to the west of the inner court a barbican has been constructed as an additional defence on the land side, whilst to the east of the middle court is another ward strongly defended by a wall or curtain and four towers. The gateway or main entrance faces the river, where it sweeps round towards the south. The principal Norman possessors of Striguil Castle were Earl William, Gilbert FitzRichard, Earl of Pembroke, and the Earls Mareschal. In 1306 it passed into the hands of the Crown. Edward II. granted it to the Despencers. The Dukes of Norfolk held it in the fifteenth century till the reign of Edward IV., when it was given to the Herberts. A daughter of that

house brought it in marriage to Charles Somerset, and his descendant, the Duke of Beaufort, now holds it.

An exhaustive paper on Chepstow Castle, with an excellent ground-plan, by the late Mr. G. O. Clark, will be found in the *Transactions* of this Society, vol. vi., pp. 51-74.

The parochial, formerly the Benedictine Church of St. Mary, at Chepstow was originaliy a magnificent eleventh-century structure, with choir and choir aisles, central tower with transepts, and nave with north and south aisles and north doorway. It has, alas! undergone barbarous ill-treatment on three occasions, the last being the most wantonly destructive. The choir, with its aisles, was destroyed by Henry VIII.'s Commissioners as unnecessary, the rest of the church being made parochial. Late in the seventeenth century the tower fell, as many Norman towers have fallen, destroying irreparably the transepts; and the restorers of 1705-6 blocked up the western arcade of the nave, building over it a western tower, and carrying up the beautiful west front to form its western wall.

But the Norman nave remained fairly intact until 1841 with five of its original arcades on either side, north and south aisles, and a north porch, within which was a beautiful Norman arch and a niche. The restorers of 1841 took down the eastern pair of arcades, thus reducing the six original arcades to four; they destroyed the aisles and also the porch, and they only preserved the Norman arch of the north doorway by inserting it in the belfry. The niche they placed on one side of the altar and made an imitation of it to match it on the other side. There remain only the massive square pillars and round arches of four arcades with triforium and clerestory above them, and the west front of the nave, bereft of its gabled aisle ends and disfigured by the early eighteenth-century addition. Later builders in better taste have done their best to minimise these losses, but the church has suffered too terribly to be capable of true restoration.

The church, we know from a charter of Henry II., belonged in the reign of his grandfather, Henry I., to the monks of Cormeilles in Normandy. It was probably built by Richard FitzGilbert, Earl of Hertford, and given by him to Cormeilles.

An architectural account of this church, by the late Mr. E. A. Freeman, will be found in *Archæologia Cambrensis*, N.S., vol. ii., and the facts given above relating to the changes made in 1841 are taken from some valuable notes by the late Dr. Ormerod in *Strigulensia*. The Rev. G. T. B. Ormerod, his grandson, has kindly allowed us to reproduce the illustration of St. Tecla's Chapel from that valuable collection.

On a rocky islet at the confluence of the Severn and the Wye, two or three miles below Chepstow, are the ruins of an anchorite's cell, which

William of Worcester calls "Rok seynt Tryacle," the *Valor Ecclesiasticus* "Capella sancti Triaci," and Leland "St. Terendaca's Chapel." The name of this saint does not appear in our Calendar, though in the Calendar of the Old English Church St. Thecla, virgin and martyr of Iconium, was commemorated on September 23rd, and her name also appears on that date in the Calendar of the Latin Prayer Book of 1560. Some, however, have thought that the name of the island is connected with the old name of Chepstow. Many such hermitages existed in the Severn Vale in olden days. They are relics of a Christianity distinctly Celtic, and mark a later development of the British and Irish Church, when men and women had ceased to dwell together in the same monastery under the rule of an abbess, when even the schools of the prophets had failed to satisfy the growing taste for a life of greater austerity, and holy priests and laymen preferred to dwell alone in desert places, existing on herbs and water, and preaching the Gospel of Christ to all who would hear them. Here on Tecla's isle the hardy fishermen of the Wye and the mariners of the Severn have bent the knee in prayer and received the blessing of many a forgotten saint.[1]

To the east of Chepstow, in Sedbury Park, where Offa's Dyke crosses the isthmus to reach the Severn cliff, is a formidable line of earthworks, which appears to be of Danish origin. This was the scene of Alfred's last victory in 894, when West Saxon, Hwiccian, and Welshman combined to crush the pagan pirate in his lair.[2]

There are three great boundary lines in Gloucestershire and the adjoining counties. (1) *Wansdyke*, in Somerset and Wilts, was constructed possibly by the Belgæ, the last of the Celtic invaders of Britain, to mark the limits northwards of their conquest. More probably, perhaps, by the West Saxons in the seventh century as a protection against the Mercians, who were encroaching on their northern frontier. (2) The *Red Earl's Dyke*, which runs along the summit of the Malverns from the Ragged Stone Hill to North Hill, was made by Gilbert de Clare, Earl of Hertford and Gloucester, "the red earl," to tell the huntsmen of the Bishop of Hereford that they might come so far and no farther in pursuit of their lord's deer. (3) Between these two, as regards date, comes *Offa's Dyke*, which was constructed in the eighth century by the Mid-English, the men of the marches. The earliest document extant in which this dyke is mentioned is a grant of King Eadwig to Wulfgar, Abbot of Bath, of land at Tidenham, between the Severn and the Wye, in 956.[3]

1 It has been suggested by Canon Bazeley that it was an anchorite dwelling here who was consulted by the Welsh bishops before they crossed the Severn in 603 to hold a conference with St. Augustine at Aust.

2 *Matthew of Westminster*, ed. 1601, p. 179. Saxon Chronicle, A.D. 894.

3 Cartularium Saxonicum, Nos. 927, 8.

Offa, whose name it bears, became King of the Mercians at a time when, after a series of military disasters, they had lost their supremacy over Kent, Essex, and East Anglia, and the earlier years of his reign were spent in its recovery. But in 779 he attacked the Welsh, who had availed themselves of their neighbours' troubles to make forays into their territory. Offa carried his victorious arms beyond the Severn, the original border-line of Mercia, and added to his dominions all the country which lay between it and the Wye. Then to mark the limits of his conquest he began to make the dyke which bears his name. This dyke, which has a political and not a military value, runs southwards from the mouth of the Dee through the present counties of Flint, Denbigh, Salop, Montgomery, Radnor, Hereford, and Gloucester, to the Wye. Camden says concisely, "A Devae ostio, usque ad Vagae." It has been carefully traced by Pennant and other antiquaries from the estuary of the Dee to Bridge Solers; and the Gloucestershire or southern extremity has been traced by Fosbroke, Lysons, Ormerod, Sir John Maclean, and other local authorities, From Bishop's Wood, where the Wye reaches Gloucestershire, to Sedbury, where it joins the Severn, the dyke runs fairly parallel to the left bank of the river, either on the summit of the cliffs, where little of it is to be seen, or half a mile inland across the valleys which intervene. As might be expected, where the ancient woodland remains untouched by the plough the dyke is nearly perfect; where the ground has come under cultivation the tendency has been to obliterate it. The strip of land between the river and the dyke was no doubt neutral ground; the Welsh fishermen could land there in safety, and Welsh and English would meet and barter their wares. Chepstow derives its present name from the Saxon *Cépe* or *Céping* and *Stowe*, and signifies a *market town*. In 1881 our late editor, Sir John Maclean, accompanied by our old friends, Mr. Bagnall-Oakeley and Mr. Taprell Allen, followed the course of the dyke from Sedbury to Bishop's Wood; and he gave an account of his researches in our *Transactions*, vol. xviii., pp. 19-31. The dyke may be seen at the following points near our route from Chepstow to Bigswear:—At Lancaut, Madgets (Modesgat), St. Briavels Common, where it is called "the devil's ridge" (there is a devil's dyke in East Anglia; in such matters the devil was the lineal descendant or substitute of Woden), Hudnol, Redhill Grove, St. Margaret's Grove, and Fencewood, where we examined it on our way to Bigswear.

On arrival at St. Briavels the members were divided into two parties, the Rev. Canon Bazeley being in charge of one, and Mr. J. E. Pritchard of the other, and the castle and church were visited in turn. The Rev. Canon Bazeley mentioned that the tenant of the castle, the Hon. Mrs. Ronald Campbell, had written regretting her inability to be present to meet the members. He thought they owed the lady a great debt of

gratitude for allowing them to inspect the place just as she was moving in to take up her residence there The property belongs to the Crown, who are carrying out extensive alterations to meet the requirements of a modern residence, and the builders were at work there when the party visited the castle. St. Briavels Castle stands nearly on the summit of a hill which rises up from the Wye Valley to the height of 800 feet. On all sides save the south, where the ground in the rear is somewhat higher, there are fine views of the surrounding country. On the west and the north-west are seen Trellech Beacon, the Sugar Loaf, and the Skirrid Mountains; on the north the Kymin, Buckstone, and Staunton Hills; and farther away to the north-east May Hill, the most conspicuous feature in our Gloucestershire landscape; on the east and south-east are the Forest of Dean and the Cotteswolds above Dursley.

Giraldus tells us in his *Annals* that St. Briavels Castle was built by Milo FitzWalter to maintain the royal authority over the rough denizens of the forest and to check the inroads of the Welsh. This was probably about 1131, four years before the death of Henry I. In most cases the Norman builders selected the sites of earlier fortresses for their strongholds, erecting keeps of stone and curtained wards on artificial mounds which Briton or Saxon had defended with ditch and pallisade. The Welsh would naturally be indignant at the loss of the forest with its mineral wealth and wellnigh impregnable fastnesses, and would be ready at any moment to avail themselves of any Mercian disaster or weakness to cross the hated dyke and attack their hereditary foe. So Offa, or one of his successors, constructed a frontier fortress here, where the ancient track-ways from Brockwear and Bigswear to the forest met, and garrisoned it with his trustiest followers.

St. Briavels is not mentioned as such in the Great Survey of 1086. It appears under the name of Ledenei, and was probably included in the grant of lands at Lydney by the Conqueror to William FitzOsbern. These lands escheated to the Crown in 1074, on the rebellion of Earl Roger, William's son, and in 1087 were held by William FitzBaderon. The name of St. Briavels seems to have been appropriated from the hamlet of St. Briavel—Stowe lying about a mile to the north of the road from Bigswear to the iron mines of Clearwell. Here, it is said, before the days of King Offa, a British prince, Briavellus, who ruled Cantref Coch (the Silurian name for the Forest of Dean) had his stronghold, still known as the Castle Tump, and, building for himself an anchorite's cell hard by, lived and died a saint.

Milo FitzWalter, the builder of the castle, was Sheriff of Gloucestershire in 1131, and hereditary Constable of England. In the civil war that ensued on the death of Henry I. Milo espoused the cause of Matilda, and she created him Earl of Hereford. He was killed by accident in

1145, whilst hunting in the Forest of Dean, and Flaxley Abbey was founded by his son Roger to commemorate his fate.

A list of the Constables of St. Briavels is given in our *Transactions*, vol. iii., pp. 360–3. The office was absorbed in that of the Chief Commissioner of Woods and Forests in 1838. The Society is greatly indebted to the Rev. W. Taprell Allen, a late Vicar of St. Briavels, and a distinguished member of this Society, for his careful researches into the history of his parish, and the papers on the castle and church which he has contributed to our *Transactions*.[1]

The remains of the castle at the present time are only a fragment of what existed in mediæval times.

The outer walls, forming an irregular figure of seven unequal sides, enclose a space of about an acre. At their base an embankment slopes down to what was once a deep moat. This was filled in about fifty years ago, the only part remaining being the castle pool on the north-west. The castle is now under repair, being adapted to the requirements of a modern residence. When the work has been completed the internal appearance will be very different from what it was when Mr. Taprell Allen described it in 1878. None of the actual work of Milo FitzWalter remains. The Norman square keep of Henry I.'s reign, which protected the enclosed space on its south side and was about 100 ft. high, fell down in 1752, and was destroyed in 1774.[2]

We approach the castle on the north side by a permanent causeway, which superseded a drawbridge, and find ourselves in front of a gateway with a double arch, above which is a crenulated curtain pierced by one window. The portcullis protecting the heavy gates must have had long iron spikes, for the groove terminates at the spring of the arch. Flanking this entrance are two semicircular towers, rising from octagonal bases and strengthened by triangular buttresses. The eastern tower, which was roofless in 1752 and a ruin in 1783, was subsequently restored. Cellars or dungeons occupied the lowest floor. Above these were chambers which were lighted by loops. The first or outer court measured 15 ft. by 10 ft. In both towers spiral staircases ascended to the upper floors, but on the east side only the original stairs remain. At the foot of these was a guardroom with a chamber above it. An inner archway with a portcullis led from the outer court to a second (21 ft. by 9 ft.), which had two floors over it. On either side two doors, each defended by a portcullis, led into the towers. On the right is a room which has served for many generations as a kitchen. The fireplace is of the date of Charles I., and there is a turnspit wheel *in situ*. On the second floor is a room which was used as a debtors' prison; this was visited about 1778 by John Howard, the

1 Vol. iii. 325–67, vii. 318, ix. 72–102, and x. 304–12.

2 Plans of Castle, *Transactions*, iii. 332, 333.

prison philanthropist. This and the adjoining room have Early English fireplaces. There are attics above. The gate-house appears to have been built in the middle of the thirteenth century, and is similar in style and arrangement to the corresponding part of Rockingham Castle, which was built at that period. An inner archway, with a portcullis groove, leads into a third court, known as the Chapel Court. The group of buildings adjoining this court are more than half a century older than the gate-house, and were probably built by one of the early De Bohuns. On the right, above a cellar, was a room (40 ft. by 20 ft.) thought to have been the state apartment. It had an Early English and Perpendicular window on the west side, overlooking the Wye Valley. These have been destroyed. At the north end is an Early English window, which must have been blocked up when the gate-house was added. On the east side were two windows and a fireplace. In the south-east corner is an arched doorway which led to the chapel, converted in Queen Elizabeth's time to a court-room. This room has a piscina, showing its former sacred use. To the south of the court-room is the jury room (24 ft. by 20 ft.), with an Early English fireplace, having shafts, capitals, and lamp brackets. The graceful chimney which surmounts this fireplace was removed from the east side of the castle enclosure in the beginning of the nineteenth century. On the summit is a forester's horn, a badge of the Constable of the Castle as *ex-officio* Warden of the Forest.

In the church the party was received by the Vicar (the Rev. J. C. May), who gave some details with regard to it.

The church of St. Briavels is much older than any remaining part of the castle, as will be seen by the Early Norman character of the south aisle of the nave with its deeply-splayed clerestory.[1] Whether there was a chapel at St. Briavels in pre-Norman times does not appear, but it would seem probable, from the fact that William FitzOsbern, Earl of Hereford, who died in 1071, gave the tithes of Ledenei Parva (the Domesday name of St. Briavels) to the abbey of Lire in Normandy, which he founded in 1046. One of Earl William's successors gave tithes in the same vill to the abbey of St. Florent, Saumar, and a dispute arose between the two alien monasteries, which was settled by Roger, Bishop of Worcester, about 1163.[2]

After this the church, which seems to have originally consisted of a nave, with aisles and a small apse, was enlarged by the addition of central tower, with choir below, transepts, and chancel, and was consecrated under the name of "Capella Sancti Briavelli" in 1166. The Transitional Norman work would be of this date. Late in the thirteenth century the

1 See illustration at page 198 in a paper by the late Rev. G. Ormerod on the Chapelry of St. Briavels, in the *Archæological Journal*, xvii., 194-98.

2 *Idem*, p. 195.

north aisle, which up to that time had probably been Early Norman, was rebuilt in the Decorated style, with lofty pointed arches resting on moulded capitals and octagonal pillars. The arches connecting the aisles with the transepts are Early English. A dragon's head, characteristic of Norman work, terminates the hood-moulding of each of these arches. In the fifteenth century a fine Perpendicular window was inserted at the west end of the nave. As Mr. Taprell Allen tells us in his excellent paper on the church, the sacred building has suffered sadly from injudicious nineteenth-century restoration, a story far too common.

The tower was taken down and rebuilt on the site of the south porch in 1830. The chancel, which is now entirely modern, was rebuilt in 1861, and the west window of the nave was taken out.

Few monuments of interest remain, and these are mutilated. An early fourteenth-century slab, bearing a triple cross with oak and laurel leaves, once covered the tomb of an ecclesiastic, perhaps an abbot of Lire; but not long after it was carved the wimpled head of a lady was inserted.[1]

A costly monument to William Warren and his wife, Mariana Catchmay, was erected in the chancel in 1573. Atkyns also speaks of a raised tomb in memory of Mrs. Warren Gough, who died in 1636, and of a monument with the effigies of a man, woman, and three children of the James family of Sutwell. Effigies and fragments of tombs lie scattered about the church in hopeless confusion.[2]

There is a plain Norman font. The altar frontal is of pre-Reformation date, and retains all its original beauty. The staircase leading to the rood loft has been allowed to remain in the south aisle. The piscina, used as a credence, belongs to the chantry chapel of St. Mary the Virgin in the north transept.

The following account of the heraldry which once existed in St. Briavels Church has been kindly contributed by Mr. F. Were:—

"Sad indeed is the havoc that has been wrought with the heraldry that existed in St. Briavels Church even in Bigland's time: a perfect blotting out of all, except a partial daub of one shield that belongs to the James family. This now is 'Sable a chevron argent' with in base, what looks like a large grey beetle, intended to represent '(Argent) a chevron between three millinks (sable),' as Bigland read it. But it is yet sadder to see on the mock Norman capitals of the porch doorway, 'Saint-Briavel's,' as if it were a suburban villa that one was entering. It seems almost an unnecessary labour to point out what has entirely disappeared, except that it might prove a stepping-stone to some kind spirit who disapproves of such sacrilege. The two effigies on the floor against the north wall of

[1] See illustration in Mr. Taprell Allen's paper, *Transactions*, ix. 76.

[2] See the report on the effigies, by the late Mrs. Bagnall-Oakeley, in *Transactions*, xxv. 165–7.

the chancel have come off a tomb of which Bigland has given an engraving quite good enough to be reproduced from, provided its position can be fixed; it is that of William Warren and Marianna Catchmay, his wife, the former's arms, 'Chequy or and az.,' being at the back, though hers do not appear. Now over a monument to William Catchmay, 1743, Bigland gives a shield which even in his time must have been removed from some monument; yet it is a flat stone, showing the arms not of Catchmay, but of Ingler, '(Or) 2 bars (az.) on a canton (sa.) 5 billets in saltire (arg.).' *Surrey Visitation* says Thomas Hoskins, of co. Monmouth, of which county the Catchmays were, married Jane, daughter of (Thomas) Catchmead, of co. Gloucester, and their son Charles married Ann, daughter of Thomas Ingler, of Reigate, Surrey. There is yet another shield connected with the Catchmays, '(Argent) on a chevron (sable) 3 chess rooks (of the first) between as many rooks (proper),' and crest, 'Dexter arm (in armour) embowed (proper) holding a pistol (or),' for James Rooke, 1773, who married Jane, daughter of Tracey Catchmay and Barbara Bray. Again, there is the early coat of Warren Gough, 1625, showing his descent from the effigies, given by Atkyns and Nayler as 'Azure 3 boars' heads couped 2 and 1 argent,' he being, as given in *Glos. Vis.*, 1623, p. 67, the second son of George Gough, of Hewelsfield, and Mary, daughter and coheiress of William Warren, of St. Briavels. The *Visitations* show that the Warrens, Catchmays, Goughs and Bonds were all connected both with St. Briavels and Hewelsfield, of which places William Warren was lord of the manor. Curiously enough, there is no coat of the Catchmays in Bigland's list, so there must have been great destruction before his time, unless they have been removed elsewhere. Also the quarterly shield of Carpenter, 1 and 4: 'Paly of six gules and argent (really arg. and az.) on a chevron azure (really gu.) 3 crosses croslet or.' 2 and 3: '3 estoiles and a chief vaire——' (? a variation of Bayley)."

St. Briavels was a chapelry of Lydney till 1859, when it was made a separate parish. The Dean and Chapter of Hereford are the patrons, and must be held partly responsible for the havoc wrought by so-called restorers.

After luncheon the party re-entered the vehicles and left St. Briavels for the Scowles, ancient iron workings at Sling, near Clearwell, which they viewed by permission of Mr. Williams and Mr. Rees. A walk down a hill and through a small coombe brought the members to the mine, in a deep fissure of the rock. Mr. W. H. Fryer gave the party an instructive address, which by his kindness is printed in this volume of our *Transactions*.

As iron has been dug here from pre-historic times, probably in the Iron Age of Britain, most certainly by the Romans, and with few intervals ever since their departure, it is needless to say these workings are varied in

appearance and character. Very little is known of their history, and, if we except Roman coins, ornaments, and cinder heaps, the relics of those who laboured here in distant ages are very scanty and of uncertain date; there is therefore ample room for surmise and discussion.

Sometimes these *scowles* take the form of caves, as at the Great Doward, on the Wye, where in King Arthur's Cave, Camden tells us, was found a human skeleton of gigantic dimensions. Nicholls[1] thinks that *scowl* is the corruption of a word of British origin, *crowll*, meaning cave. If this be so we have here probably the most ancient form of mining. Mr. C. E. Cardew has, however, pointed out that the derivation of this word was considered in *Notes and Queries* for 1885, and that the discussion seemed to favour a derivation from the old English word *scofl*, a shovel, the *scowles* being places which are "shovelled out."

Sometimes, as at "the devil's chapel" between Bream and Lydney Park (the finest example of scowles in the forest), they are wide and deep quarries. At Sling, Perry Grove, and elsewhere they are narrow passages, tunnelled in the hard rock, open to the heavens above, over-hung with trees, mantled with ivy and ferns, and carpeted with the broad-leaved ransom, fair enough to the sight but pungent and repulsive to the scent if we crush it beneath our feet. Mr. Wyrrall, whose MS. on the iron works of the forest, A.D. 1780, has been printed in the second volume of our *Transactions*, pp. 216-22, says: "There are, deep in the earth, vast caverns scooped out by men's hands, and large as the aisles of churches; and on its surface are extensive labyrinths worked among the rocks, and now long since overgrown with woods, which whosoever traces them must see with astonishment, and incline to think them to have been the work of armies rather then of private labourers. They certainly were the toil of many centuries, and this perhaps before they thought of searching in the bowels of the earth for their ore, whither, however, they at length then naturally pursued the veins, as they found them to be exhausted near the surface." In vol. vi., pp. 107-22, Mrs. Bagnall-Oakeley has given us a list of Roman coins which from time to time has been found in the forest, in scowles, in cinder heaps, and elsewhere. These cover in date almost the whole period of the Roman occupation of Britain.

An illustration is given in vol. xx., p. 156, of some old mining tools found in the Westbury Brook Mine, and supposed by some to be of Roman origin. We reproduce the plate, and the tools themselves were on view at Sling. They are exceedingly rough, utterly unlike anything the Romans would have been likely to use. Mr. T. F. Browne was probably right in attributing them to mine poachers of the Cromwellian period.

The drive from Sling to Tintern was through splendid scenery, and the site of Castle Tump, and also the ruined chapel and hermitage of

[1] *Iron Making in Olden Times*, by the Rev. H. G. Nicholls, B.A., 1866.

St. Briavels, were passed. A short stay was made at St. Margaret's Grove to inspect a fine stretch of the famous dyke which Offa constructed more than eleven hundred years ago to mark the western limits of his conquest. On our way to Tintern, as we began to descend into the valley of the Wye, we saw on our left, near a quarry, a British camp which Mr. G. B. Witts has described thus in his *Archæological Handbook*: "Three miles south of Coleford, in the parish of St. Briavels, there is a very small camp, circular in form, known as Castle Tump. It stands on Bearse Common and is defended by a strong, high mound. The ditch outside the bank is slight. The defended area is only 35 yards in diameter." It has been sadly injured by quarrying on its west side. Mr. Wakeman's suggestion that a British prince had his stronghold here and became a hermit has been alluded to. The ruined building at the back of Stowe Grange, said to be the remains of a chapel, bears no traces of sacred use, and no more can be said of a round fireplace with calcined stones which tradition says was part of the anchorite's cell. St. Briavels Hermitage is mentioned in the Pipe Roll of 31 Henry I. (1131), and we are told that it was given to the abbey of Grace Dieu, near Monmouth, in 1227. This abbey had been founded in the previous year by John of Monmouth, who was Constable of St. Briavels Castle from 1216 to 1224. The monks had at first to say mass every day at the hermitage for the souls of the king and his ancestors, but permission was given them later on, on account of the depredations of wild beasts from the forest, to perform the service at the abbey instead. The name of the farm, Stowe *Grange*, shows that it belonged to a monastic house. There does not seem to be any evidence of a hermit residing here after the gift of the buildings and lands to the abbey of Grace Dieu.

At Morke, which Sir John Maclean thought to be a corruption of March, a boundary, was a chapel, dedicated to St. Margaret, with a wood attached to it called St. Margaret's Grove. It is mentioned in the Parliamentary Survey of Lands of 1651 as belonging to Charles I., his Queen and the Prince of Wales. In 1884 it formed part of the Lindors estate.

After tea the members visited Tintern Abbey, which is regarded by many as the most beautiful ruin in the country. The party had the pleasure of being received by Mr. Philip Baylis (Deputy-Surveyor of the Forest of Dean) and Mr. F. W. Waller (the architect), who pointed out the chief features of the celebrated Cistercian abbey. They were able to tell the members the interesting fact that recent excavations had brought to light traces of a more ancient building, a circumstance which is of great archæological importance. An able paper on the architectural history of Tintern Abbey, with ground plans of the conventual church and domestic buildings, and drawings of architectural details, by

Mr. Thomas Blashill, will be found in our *Transactions* of 1881-2, vol. vi., pp. 88-106. Tintern was founded in 1131, and therefore its earlier buildings must have been Norman in style. Mr. Blashill says that no traces of the conventual church of this period remains, but he suggests that it occupied about half the area of the present church, and that its chancel stood very nearly on the site of the north transept. (See plan, vol. vi., p. 106.) In the middle of the twelfth century Roger Bigod, Earl of Norfolk, who had inherited the lands of Walter de Clare, the founder, determined to rebuild the abbey, and he appears to have commenced with the domestic portions, as they are earlier in style than the church. The church was begun in 1269, and the high altar was first used in 1288; so the building went on during the period in which the Early English style of architecture was passing into Decorated or Edwardian. When perfect the church consisted of a nave with aisles, a choir which extended one bay into the nave, north and south transepts each with two eastern chapels, and presbytery with aisles. In the remaining southern arcade of the nave we see traces of the screen which ran from east to west, connecting the pillars and shutting out the chancel and nave from their aisles. This was a Cistercian arrangement.

Mr. Dugdale has very kindly allowed us to reproduce four of his beautiful photographs giving details of the conventual buildings, and it may be helpful to mention very briefly their names and uses.

In the north-west angle of the north transept is a flight of stairs which led by a passage over the chapter house and slype to the monks' sleeping-room. They used these stairs for the midnight and early morning services: in the daytime they entered and left the church by the door at the east end of the north aisle of the nave opening into the cloisters, where the monks spent much of their daily life in reading and copying manuscripts. In the east walk they had usually their cupboard for the books in common use and the materials for writing and illuminating, and the sacrist had a room for the sacred vessels and service books. At the north end of the north transept was a room divided into two by a strong cross-wall. The outer room was perhaps the library, and the inner the sacristy. The Early English doorway, which has been lately repaired, is of very chaste design.

The next building was the chapter house, which derived its name from the little chapter, or portion of the rule of St. Benedict, which was read to the assembled monks after Terce. Here the business of the abbey was transacted and discipline was administered.

Adjoining this was the parlour, where the monks were permitted to converse in the presence of the prior, or another officer. Silence was the usual rule, whether in church, during meals, or at work in cloister and elsewhere.

Next to the parlour was the slype, a passage leading to the infirmary, where the aged or sick monks had their own dormitory, refectory, and kitchen.

At Hayles Abbey the slype passes under the dormitory, but it is doubtful whether it was so at Tintern, for the next room is only a lobby leading to the undercroft of the monks' sleeping apartment, now generally called the dorter. It is a mistake to call this sub-dorter a day-room. There is no evidence whatever that the monks spent any of their time here. The south cloister walk was to all intents and purposes their ordinary living room. The sub-dorter was probably used for storage. It had no fireplace after it was rebuilt in the thirteenth century,[1] and the windows were unglazed. A doorway in the east side led to the latrines or rear-dorter.

We will now briefly describe the buildings adjoining the north walk. In the first room, or passage, stairs led up to the dorter, on the right, and to what has been thought to be the prior's lodging on the left. Sometimes the muniment room of the abbey was here, and the heavily-barred window seems to suggest this use for the narrow room opening out of it.

Below this room, on the ground floor, was the warming-house, sometimes called the calefactory. There were two generally enormous fireplaces in this room (there is only one at Tintern), where the monks might thaw their frozen fingers in the depth of our old-fashioned winters.

Behind the warming-house was a courtyard with a store for wood and other fuel, and perhaps a gateway leading to the river.

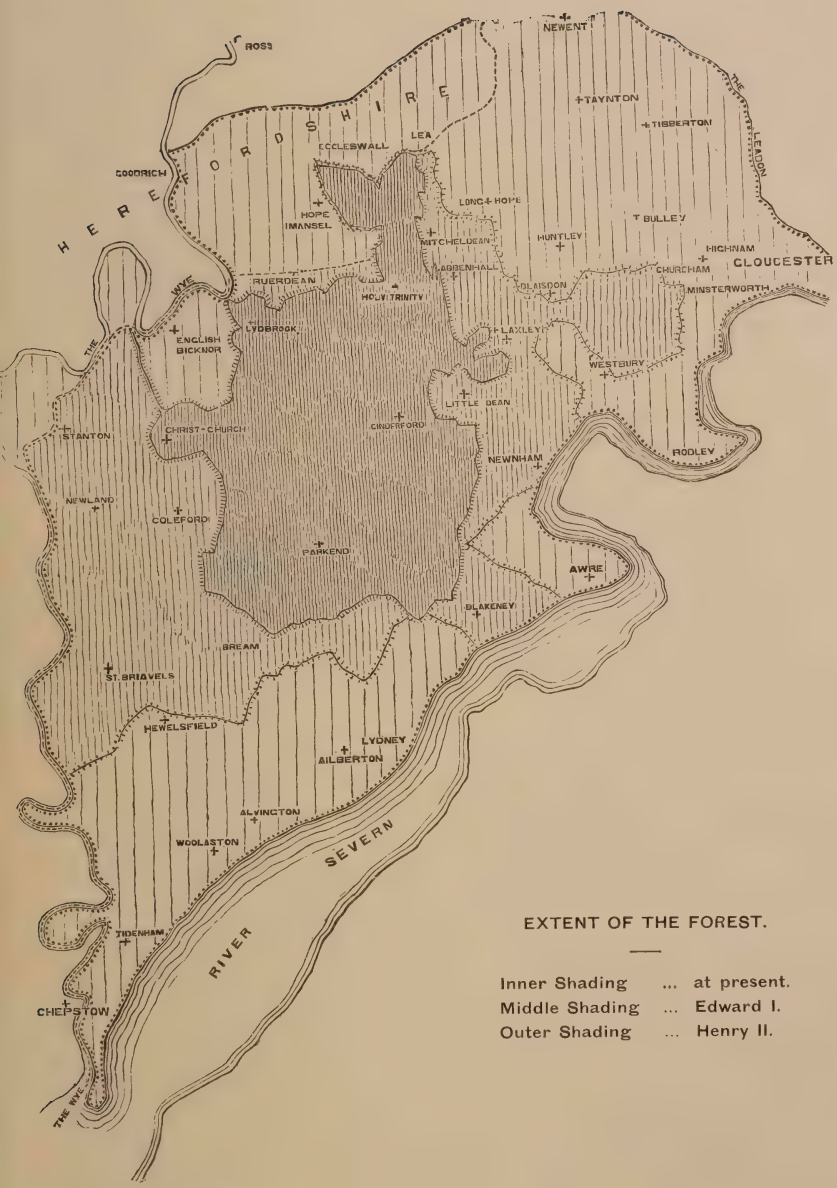
The dining-room or refectory of the monks comes next; they called it the frater. In Cistercian houses it always stood north and south, with its end against the cloister, whereas in Benedictine, Cluniac, and Augustinian houses it stood east and west, as at Gloucester, with its side against the cloister. On the left is a recess, which contained the wall-pulpit and its stairs. Whilst the monks eat in silence one of their number read aloud the *Imitation of Christ*, by Thomas à Kempis, or some other devotional work. Mr. Dugdale's photograph shows the beautiful Early English windows on the east side overlooking the court of the warming-house. In the north wall of the cloister walk are the lavatory and towel recess. In the S.E. corner of the frater is a vaulted chamber with a locker, which was perhaps a pantry. In the S W. corner is a buttery hatch, showing that beyond it to the west were the kitchen and other domestic offices.

The long range of buildings on the west side of the cloisters will have special interest for us, because they have lately been very carefully cleared

1 An earlier fireplace has been lately discovered in the east wall. This must have been walled up about 1260.

from all modern accretions. This was the cellarium where the *conversi* or lay brothers dwelt, under the superintendence of the cellarer, and attended to the secular and external affairs of the monastery. They had a frater, dorter and infirmary of their own, and attended some of the daily services in the church, worshipping by themselves in the north aisle of the nave. After the fourteenth century the *conversi* seem to have died out, and we shall have to ask ourselves to what purpose these noble rooms were assigned in the later days of the abbey At Hayles the cellarium became the Abbot's Lodging.

After leaving the abbey the archæologists hurried to their vehicles, and on arriving at Chepstow Station the two sections separated, the trains for Gloucester and Bristol enabling all of the party to reach their homes at an early hour. The day's engagements were altogether enjoyable, and to the exertions of Canon Bazeley and Mr. John E. Pritchard a great deal of the success of the excursion is due. We were also greatly indebted to Mr. Murray for the loan of the blocks of the map and of the castle from Nicholls's *Forest of Dean*, and to Mr. R. W. Dugdale for his beautiful photographs, which he had taken expressly for this meeting, and has allowed us to reproduce.



Kindly lent by Mr. Murray.

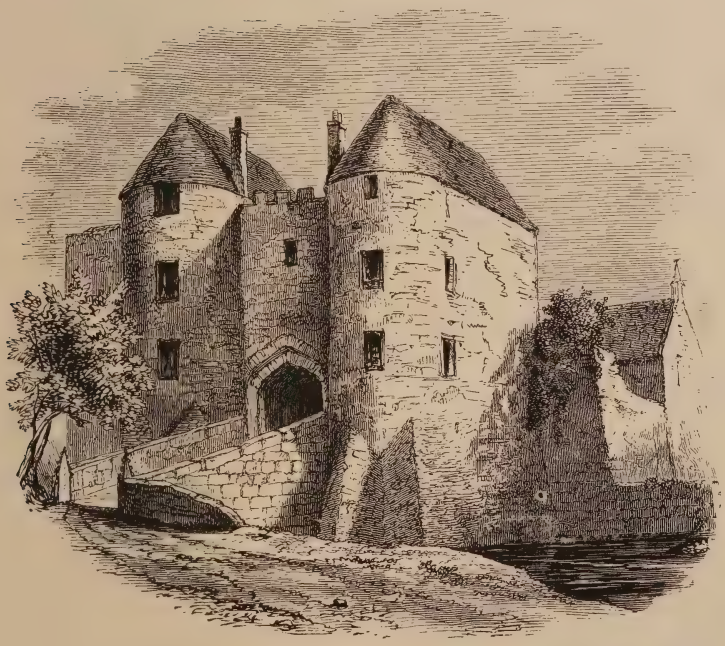
MAP SHOWING THE EXTENT OF THE FOREST OF DEAN AT VARIOUS TIMES.

PAGE 3.

CHEPSTOW CASTLE.

ST. TECLA'S RUINED CHAPEL.

PAGE 4.



Kindly lent by Mr. Murray.

ST. BRIAVEL'S CASTLE.

PAGE 7.

R. W. Dugdale, Phot. PAGE 9.

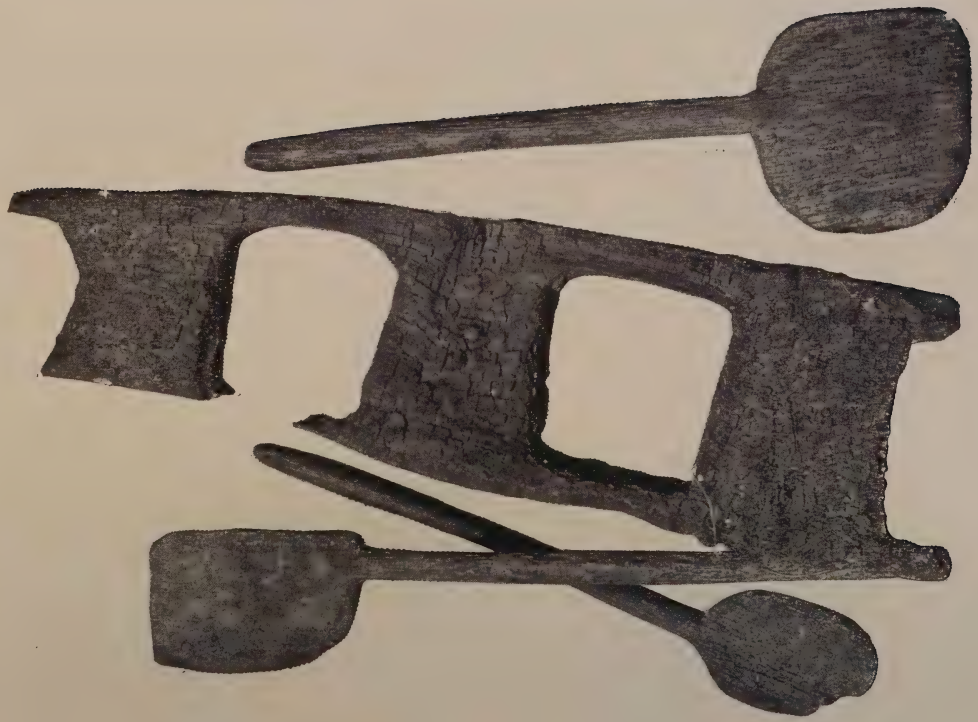
EARLY ENGLISH FIRE-PLACE IN JURY ROOM.

R. W. Dugdale, Phot. PAGE 8.

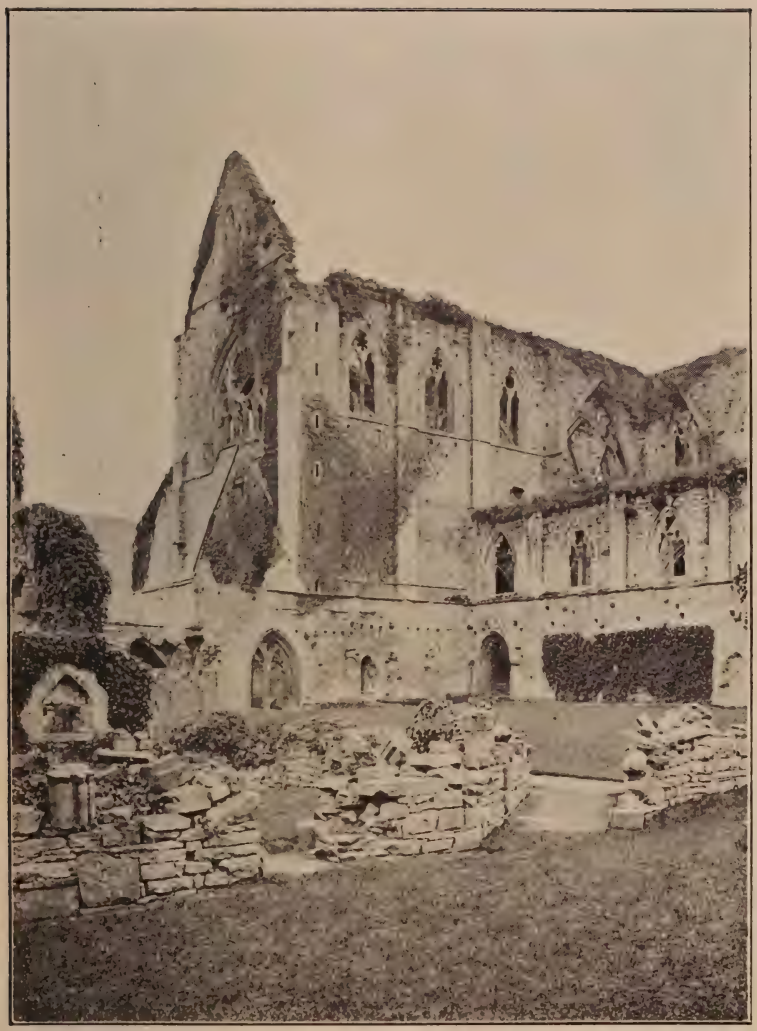
TURNSPIT WHEEL IN KITCHEN.

R. W. Dugdale, Phot. PAGE 12.

ANCIENT IRON MINES AT SLING.

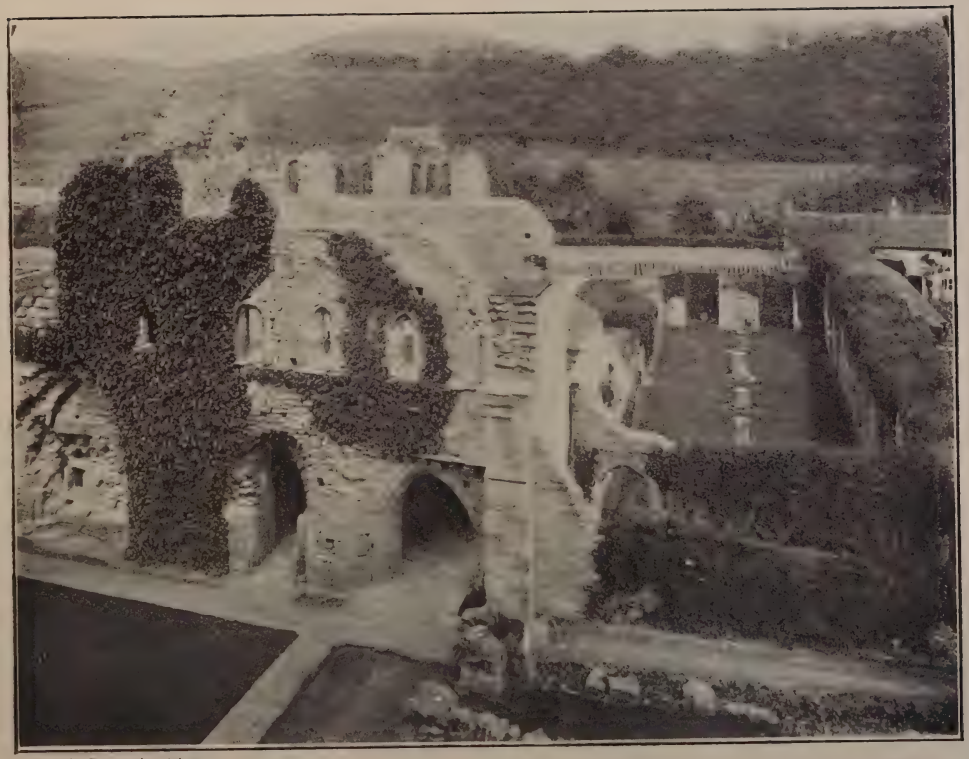


OLD MINING TOOLS.



R. W. Dugdale, Photo. PAGE 15.

NORTH TRANSEPT AND CLOISTERS, TINTERN ABBEY.



R. W. Dugdale, Phot.

PAGE 15.

PRIOR'S LODGING AND SUB-DORTER, TINTERN ABBEY.

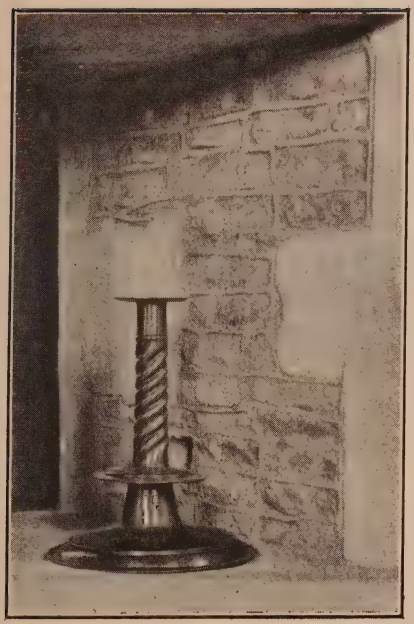
R. W. Dugdale, Phot

PAGE 16.

FRATER, TINTERN ABBEY.

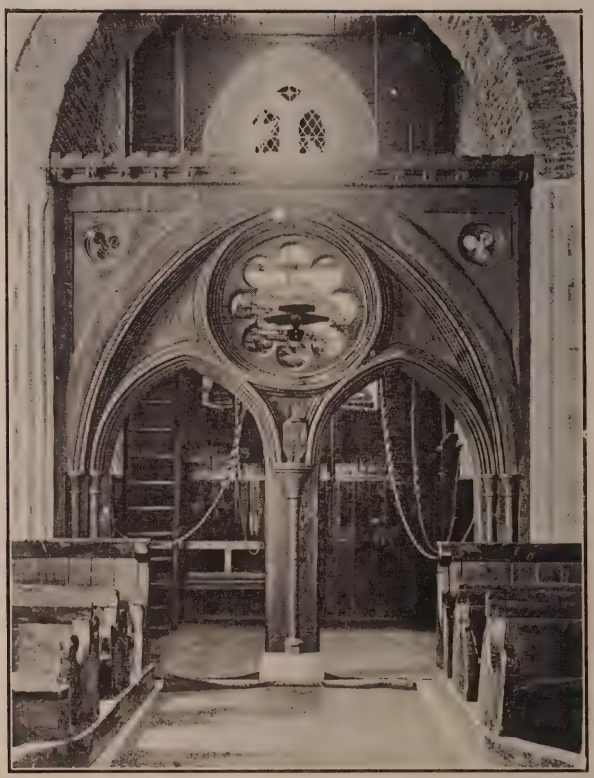
R. W. Dugdale, Phot. PAGE 16.

THE CELLARIUM AND WEST FRONT OF NAVE, TINTERN ABBEY.



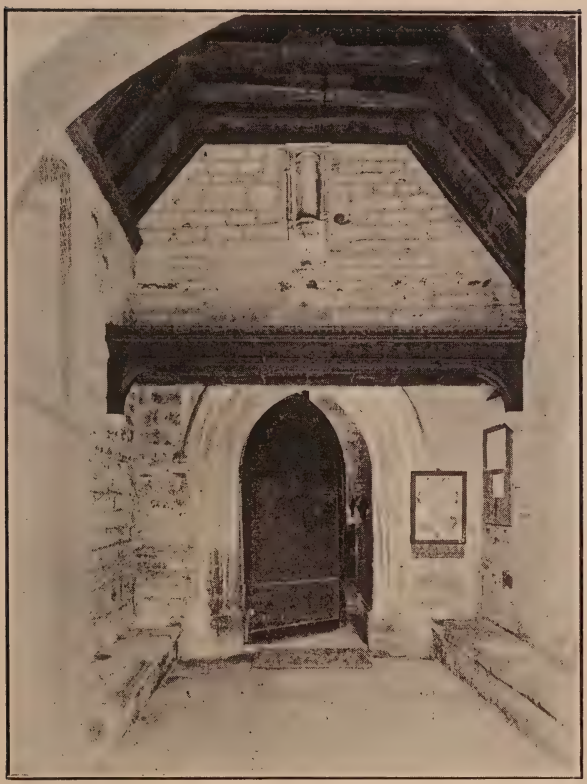
PAGE 35.

CANDLESTICK, CLAPTON-IN-GORDANO.



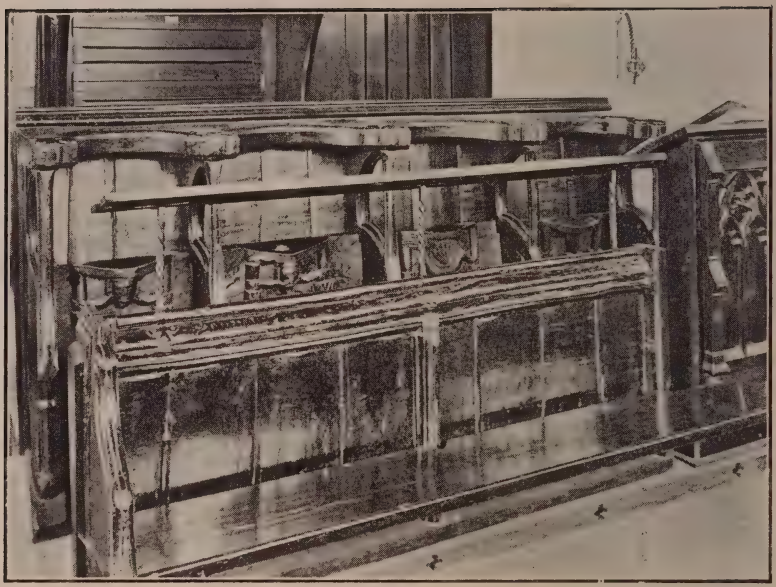
PAGE 35.

WOODEN DOMESTIC SCREEN,
CLAPTON-IN-GORDANO.



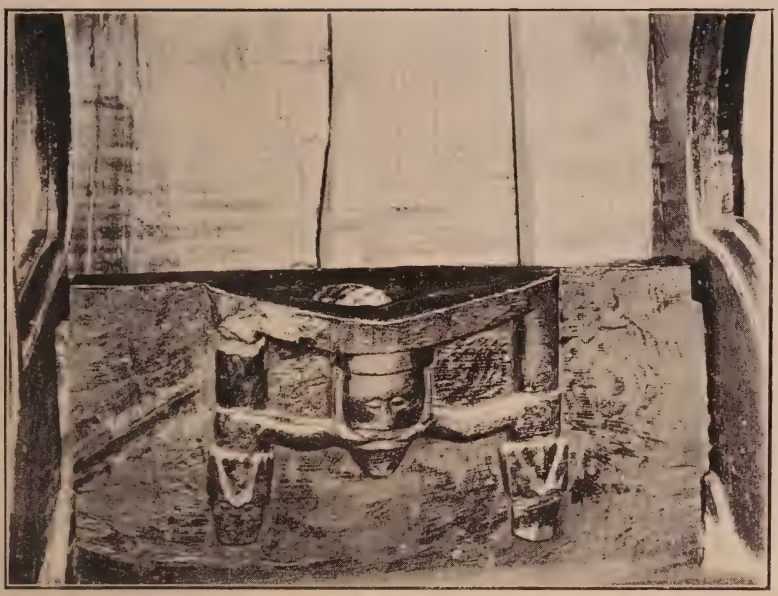
PAGE 36.

PORCH GALLERY, WESTON-IN-GORDANO.



PAGE 37.

CHOIR STALLS, WESTON-IN-GORDANO.



PAGE 37.

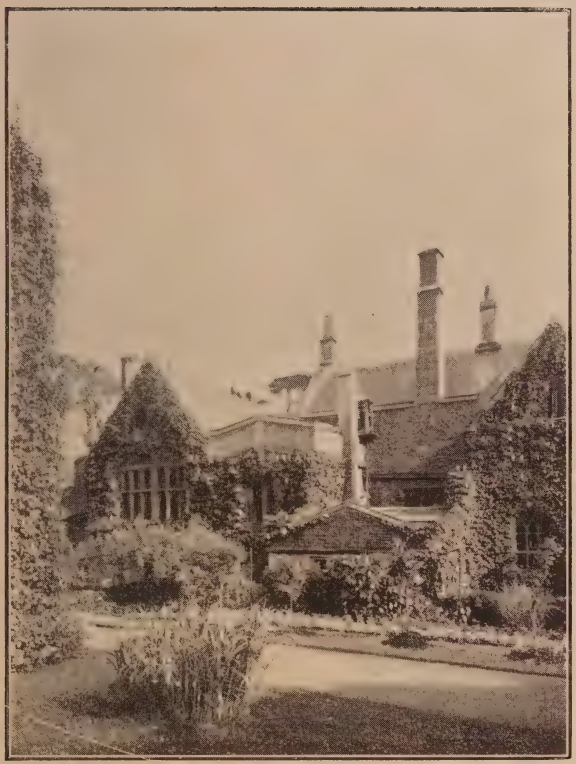
MISERERE, WESTON-IN-GORDANO.

PAGE 37.

MISERERE, WESTON-IN-GORDANO.

Guy Chilton, Phot PAGE 37.

STONE PULPIT, WESTON-IN-GORDANO.

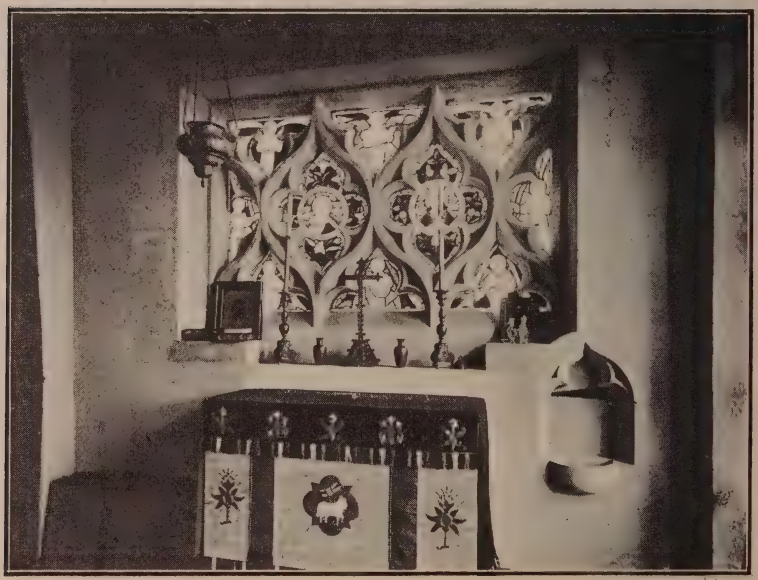


Guy Chilton, Phot. PAGE 38.

CLEVEDON COURT, NORTH SIDE.

Guy Chilton, Phot. PAGE 39.

CLEVEDON COURT, SOUTH FRONT.

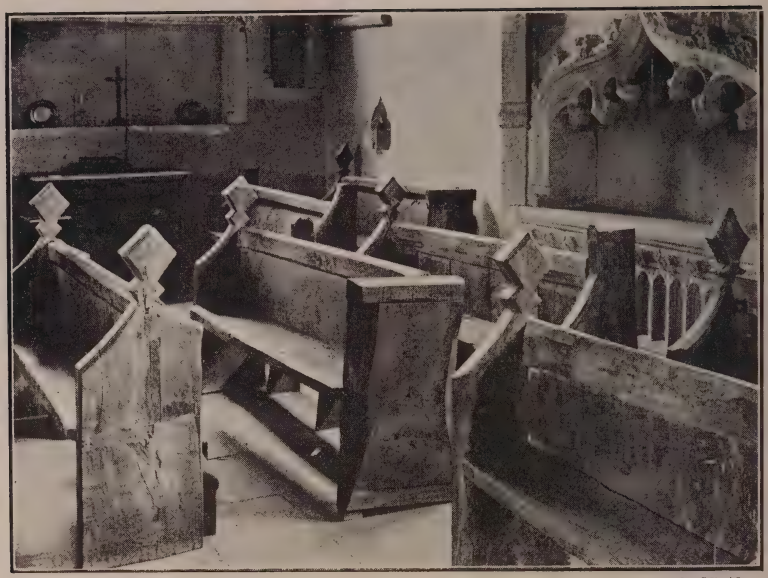


Guy Chilton, Phot. PAGE 39.

EAST WINDOW, PRIVATE CHAPEL, CLEVEDON COURT.

Prof. Fawcett, Phot. PAGE 41.

COURT PEW AND TOMBS, CHELVEY.



Prof. Fawcett, Phot. PAGE 41.

EARLY BENCHES AND ALTAR, CHELVEY.

Prof. Fawcett, Phot. PAGE 41.

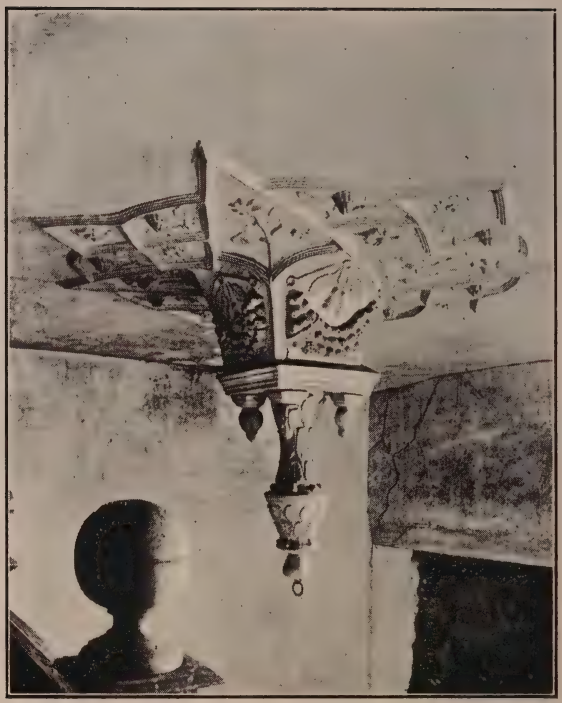
EARLY BENCHES, CHELVEY.

Prof. Fawcett, Phot. PAGE 42.

PORCH, CHELVEY COURT.

Prof. Fawcett, Phot. PAGE 42.

STAIRCASE, CHELVEY COURT.



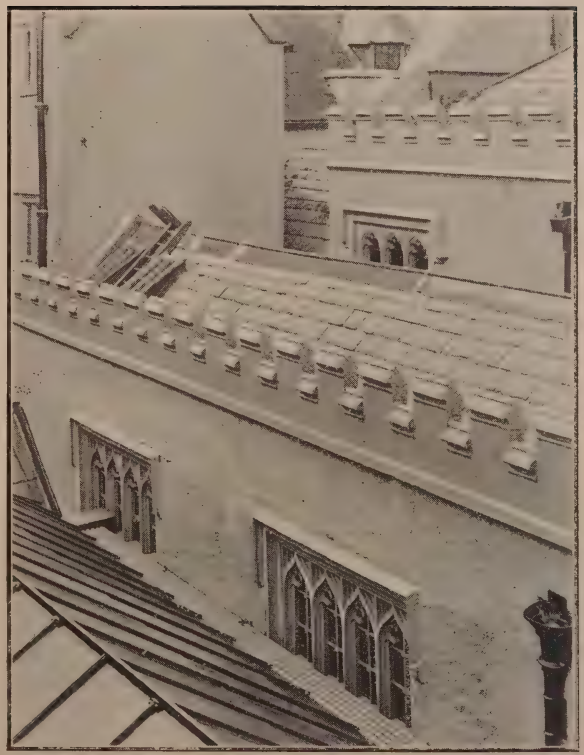
Prof. Fawcett, Phot. PAGE 42.

PENDANT, CHELVEY COURT.

PAGE 43

ASHTON COURT IN 1802.

From an old print in the possession of Lady Smyth.



Guy Chilton, Phot. PAGE 44.

Guy Chilton, Phot. PAGE 44.

OLD WINDOWS, ASHTON COURT.

Guy Chilton, Phot. PAGE 44.

JACOBEAN LEAD RAIN WATER HEAD,
ASHTON COURT.

Guy Chilton, Phot. PAGE 44.

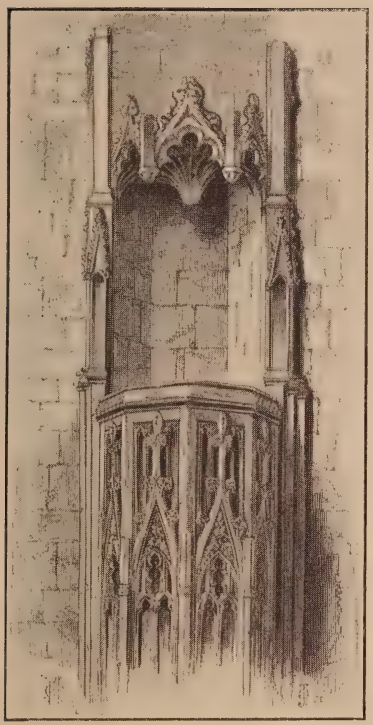
SHIELD OF ARMS, ASHTON COURT.

Guy Chilton, Phot. PAGE 50.

MANOR HOUSE, COLD ASHTON.

Guy Chilton, Phot. PAGE 50.

GATEWAY, COLD ASHTON MANOR HOUSE.



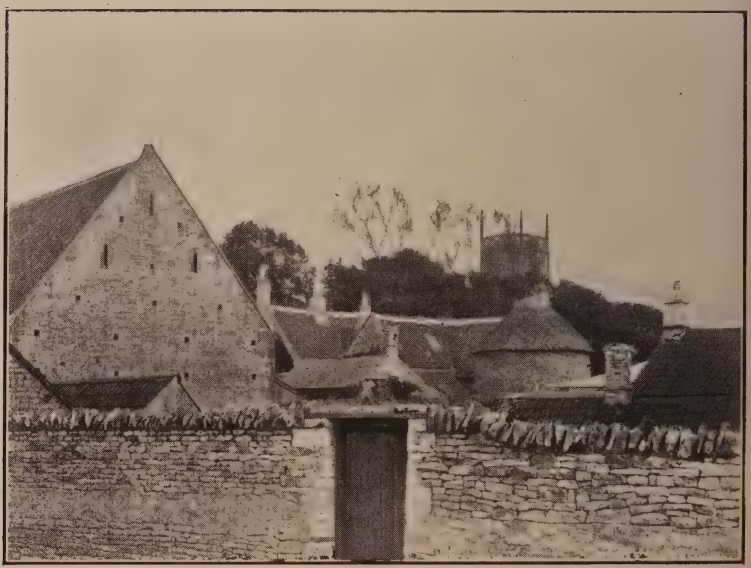
PAGE 51.

PULPIT, COLD ASHTON CHURCH.

Guy Chilton, Phot. PAGE 52.

1. Our Lady. 2. St. Margaret. 3. Probably St. Katherine (emblem broken).

MARBLE FIGURES, MARSHFIELD.

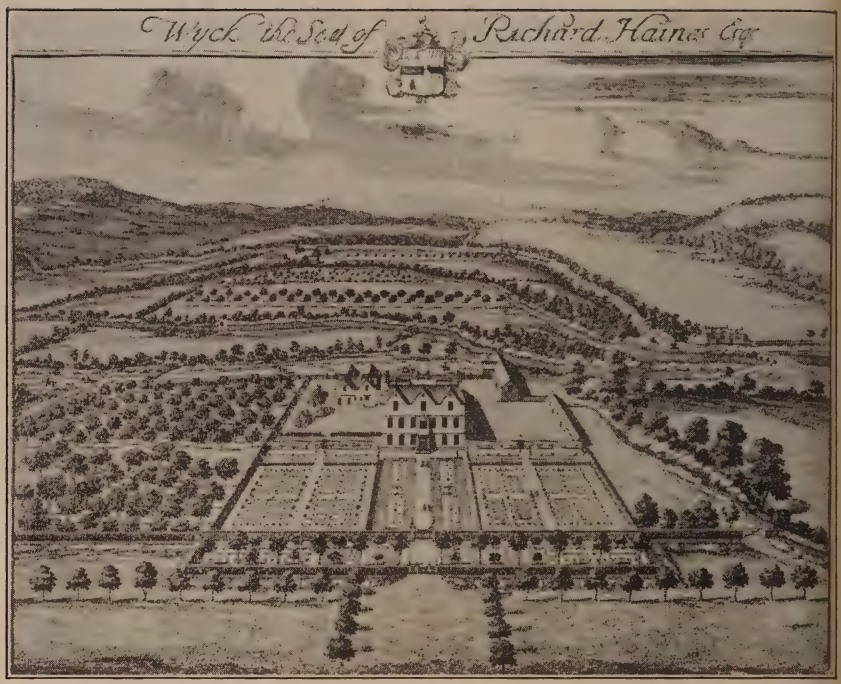


Guy Chilton, Phot. PAGE 56.

CULVER HOUSE AND BARN, MARSHFIELD.

Guy Chilton, Phot. PAGE 57.

THE PORCH, HAMSWELL HOUSE.



PAGE 58.

KIP'S VIEW OF WYCK COURT, C. 1700.

From a block lent by the Editor of Meehan's "More Famous Houses of Bath and District," 1906.

Guy Chilton, Phot.

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WICK COURT, SOUTH FRONT.

Bristol and Gloucestershire Archæological Society.

PROCEEDINGS

At the Annual Summer Meeting

At Bristol,

Tuesday, Wednesday and Thursday, July 17th, 18th and 19th, 1906.

The three days opened with a business meeting at the new Council Chamber, where the Lord Mayor and the High Sheriff welcomed the visitors. At that meeting the new president (the Rev. C. S. Taylor) was installed and gave his address. In the afternoon there was an itinerary of the centre of the city, and in the evening a conversazione at the Royal Hotel.

Bishop Mitchinson, the retiring president, took the chair at the business meeting, and there were also present the Lord Mayor, the High Sheriff, the Rev. C. S. Taylor, M.A., F.S.A., Vicar of Banwell (president-elect), Canon Bazeley hon. general secretary), Mr. John E. Pritchard (hon. secretary for Bristol), Mr. G. M. Currie (hon. treasurer), Mr. F. F. Fox (president of council), and a large number of members and friends, including many ladies.

The Lord Mayor, in welcoming the party, said the Bristol and Gloucestershire Archæological Society kept watch over the antiquities and historical buildings of the two counties, and used its influence to preserve them. It was founded at Bristol in 1876, and the first summer meeting in Bristol was held in 1878; the president, Mr. Christopher J. Thomas. The second Bristol meeting was in 1890; the

president, Dr. Beddoe. The president this year was the Rev. Charles S. Taylor, brother of Bristol's Town Clerk. The membership over the two counties was over 550, and included not only the Bishop of Bristol, the Bishop of Clifton, and the Bishop of Gloucester, but two ex-Cabinet Ministers—Viscount St. Aldwyn and the Right Hon. Walter Long. The Society had published twenty-nine volumes of *Transactions*, which were considered to be of much value. It gave him great pleasure to welcome the Society to Bristol, and to say that he hoped their visit would be a very interesting one, and that their meeting would be very successful. He had heard that in the past, some years ago, they used to call the Society the "Larkæological Society," and he could understand that the study of antiquity brought a certain amount of pleasure and interest to those who took part in it, and he could understand that those meetings were from time to time very enjoyable. He was told that not only had the interest of the Society been studied in the meetings, but sometimes one or two very happy unions had been brought about by the associations of the meetings. One he could recall which proved a very happy union. He hoped in their deliberations and discussions at that meeting they would have a very prosperous and happy time. He heartily welcomed them.

The HIGH SHERIFF (Mr. H. L. Riseley) endorsed all that had been said by the Lord Mayor. He reminded them that Bristol was a most delightful centre, and he hoped they would have a pleasant time in the city.

Bishop MITCHINSON (the out-going President) then took the chair. He said on behalf of all of them who were present to enjoy antiquarian researches in and around Bristol, he had to thank the Lord Mayor first and foremost for the kind words he had said and the interest taken in their proceedings. He had also to ask his Lordship to convey, on such an occasion as he might think best, their thanks to the members of their Corporation for giving them the run of their interesting civic building. The Lord Mayor had wished them a happy

and prosperous time there. Personally, he would have liked to remain, but he was tied by the leg elsewhere; he was sure from the programme the Lord Mayor's wish would be realised. He hoped the fine weather they were looking forward to experience would prevail during the next few days during their not altogether useless and exceedingly enjoyable researches.

Canon BAZELEY (the Hon. General Secretary) read the report of the Council as follows:—

The Council of the Bristol and Gloucestershire Archæological Society present the following report for the year ended July 17th, 1906:—

There are at present 556 members on the Society's list. The income of the Society for the year ended December 31st, 1905, including a balance of £155 11s. 5d. (£55 11s. 5d. in the treasurer's hands and £100 on deposit at the Society's bankers) on January 1st, 1905, was £517 19s. 6d., and the expenditure £451 2s. 3d., leaving a balance on December 31st, 1905, of £166 17s. 3d. (£66 17s. 3d. in the treasurer's hands and £100 on deposit). From this balance should be deducted the cost of the Society's *Transactions* for 1905, the first part of which is in the members' hands, and the second part is nearly ready for issue. Besides this balance, the Society has a funded capital of £832 3s. 8d. Consols, worth at the present price about £720.

The *Transactions* are only issued to members who have paid their subscriptions for the respective year. A new list of the members will be issued with the second part of volume xxviii., and the secretary will be obliged if any necessary corrections of addresses, &c., are sent to him at once.

The Society has held two General Meetings since the presentation of the last report—at Cheltenham, under the presidency of Bishop Mitchinson, on July 11th, 12th, and 13th, 1905, and at Chepstow on May 29th, 1906. The proceedings at Cheltenham are duly chronicled in volume xxviii., and an account of the excursion to St. Briavels and Tintern from Chepstow will appear in volume xxix.

The Council would take this opportunity of expressing appreciation of the careful manner in which the work of preserving the ruins of Tintern Abbey is being carried out by Mr. Waller and Mr, Philip Baylis, both of them distinguished members of this Society.

Very valuable additions have been made to the Society's library at the Literary Club, Bristol. The Council desires to thank the following ladies and gentlemen for their donations:—First and foremost, Mr. F. F. Tuckett, a Vice-President of this Society, for his generous gift of 160

volumes, including the *Archæological Journal* and the *Proceedings* of the Somerset and Wilts Archæological Societies; then Sir Charles D. Cave, Bart., Mrs. Thompson, the Misses Alice Pavey and I. M. Roper, the Rev. C. S. Taylor Dr. A. Harvey, and Messrs. J. W. Arrowsmith, C. E. Boucher, H. Bolton, J. B. C. Burroughs, G. E. Blood, C. H. Cave, R. H. Carpenter, J. Fuller Eberle, H. L. Evans, F. F. Fox, Claude B. Fry, C. W. George, H. M. Herepath, J. H. Howell, E. T. Morgan, W. S. Moxley, A. W. Page, John E. Pritchard, J. J. Simpson, E. J. Swann, J. Hudson Smith (deceased), R. C. Tombs, E. J. Watson, C. Wells, F. Were, R. Hall Warren, H. M. Worsley, T. W. Williams, C. Wintle, and H. P. Thurston; and F. A. W. T. Armstrong for a drawing.

The Council has great pleasure in announcing that the *List of Gloucestershire Church Plate*, which has been edited for the Society by the Rev. J. T. Evans, Rector of Stow-on-the-Wold, is now in type, and consists of 260 pages of letterpress. There will be twenty-three illustrations, sixteen of which will be executed by Messrs. Kell and Sons, of Covent Garden. The *List*, when ready, will be sent free of charge, according to promise, to all present members who subscribed for the years 1894-5 and 1895-6. Other members may still subscribe for copies (15s. each). Those who have not received copies of the prospectus may obtain them from the General Secretary.

The reports of Gloucestershire monumental effigies, which from time to time have appeared in the Society's *Transactions*, are drawing near completion, thanks not a little to the energetic labours of Miss I. M. Roper, who, having described all the Bristol examples, is now preparing a report on those which exist in the Dursley and Tewkesbury Deaneries. The Gloucester Cathedral effigies have been described by Canon and Miss Bazeley in vol. xxvii., and those found in the deaneries of Stonehouse and Stow-on-the-Wold by Miss Winifred Smith and Miss F. J. B. Witts respectively in vol. xxviii. It is hoped at some future time these reports will form the groundwork of a richly-illustrated work on the monumental effigies of Bristol and Gloucestershire.

The Council report of 1905 called attention to the unsafe condition of the Roman villa at Great Witcombe and the Uley long barrow, known as Hetty Peglar's Tump. Thanks to the care of the owner, W. Hicks-Beach, Esq., the beautiful Witcombe tessellated pavements have been rendered more secure from injury, and the Board of Works, under the direction of their courteous and painstaking secretary, Mr. Fitzgerald, have repaired the fences and entrance of the Uley barrow. But for the regretted illness and death of Mr. W. Phelps, of Chestal, Dursley, the roof of a burial chamber which has fallen in would have been replaced, and some researches would have been made at the west end of the tumulus.

Very successful local meetings were held during the winter at Bristol and Gloucester, under the direction of Mr. John E. Pritchard and Mr. H. T. Bruton respectively. These meetings awaken a good deal of interest in the work of the Society, and produce some material for the *Transactions*.

The Society now possess a collection of magic-lantern slides at the library, Eastgate, Gloucester, and the Council desires that frequent use may be made of them, not only in the principal centres of the Society's work, but also in the remoter villages and hamlets.

The Council is considering how best the work of transcribing and printing the Worcester Episcopal Registers, as far as they relate to Gloucestershire, may be accelerated; and gratefully acknowledging what has been done in this direction by the Worcestershire Historical Society, they desire to co-operate with them, and also with the Birmingham and Midland Institute.

The Council regret the loss by death of Mr. Le Blanc, a vice-president of the Society. This gentleman, who lived to an advanced age and to the last retained much of his earlier physical and mental power, was on many occasions of great service to this Society. Moreover, his invariable courtesy also won for him a hearty welcome at the meetings.

The Council have great pleasure in congratulating two of the members of this Society on the honours paid them most deservedly by the King. Sir Michael Hicks-Beach, Bart., of whom Bristol and Gloucestershire will always be proud as being one of the foremost statesmen and financiers of the present age, has been created Viscount St. Aldwyn, and Lord Hawkesbury, who is closely connected with one of our Gloucestershire families and parishes, has regained his grandfather's earldom of Liverpool, and His Majesty has conferred on him the post of Lord Steward, the highest in the royal household.

The Council has held five meetings during the year, three at Gloucester and two at Bristol, and they desire to express their obligations to the Lord Mayor of Bristol for the use of the old Council Chamber.

The Council desire to nominate for election as Local Secretary for Chepstow the Rev. R. C. Lynch-Blosse, Vicar of Tidenham, and Mr. Philip Baylis as Local Secretary for Coleford and the Forest of Dean. They also desire to nominate for re-election the President of the Council, the Vice-Presidents of the Society, the General Treasurer, the General Secretary, the Secretary for Bristol, and the Local Secretaries.

The following members of the Council retire by rotation, but are eligible for re-election: The Rev. W. E. Blathwayt, and Messrs. T. Dyer Edwardes, E. C. Gael, James Baker, C. Bathurst, E. S. Hartland, J. J. Simpson, and A. J. Morton-Ball.

Mr. J. McMURTRIE moved that the report of the Council be received and adopted. Whether they looked at the report from the number of members, the state of finance during the current year, or the deposits to their credit, or the records of work done in the year—one of a long series of years during which the Society had done good work in both counties—the report was a good one.

Mr. F. J. CULLIS seconded the resolution, and it was adopted.

After the PRESIDENT had proposed the members of Council,

Canon BAZELEY proposed a vote of thanks to the Lord Mayor, which he said he did all the more readily because he had received many proofs of kindness from the Lord Mayor and the Corporation and the Town Clerk.

Mr. J. E. PRITCHARD seconded the resolution, which was heartily carried.

The LORD MAYOR, in responding, said it was a very happy thing in an old city like Bristol to study some of the buildings and associations, and it must be very agreeable work on their part to carry out their arrangements.

Mr. F. F. FOX proposed a vote of thanks to Bishop Mitchinson.

Dr. A. HARVEY seconded the resolution, which was carried.

The PRESIDENT, in vacating the chair, said he had to introduce to them as his successor a man who had some business in the chair. Most of them who had had the honour to preside were amateurs, dilettanti, and no doubt they enjoyed their association with the members, but so far from actually imparting to the members anything worth imparting, they painfully recognised they could do little. It was a great step to put a man in the chair who had definite views of what he knew something.

The Rev. C. S. TAYLOR, the new President, was received with renewed applause. He felt that his election was a real and thorough reward for anything he had been able to do for the Society. He was perfectly well aware that there were

men with greater claims, but that made the honour all the greater, and his thanks all the more heartfelt. He proceeded with his address on the dissolution of the religious houses in Bristol, which is printed in this part of the *Transactions*.

Mr. T. S. BUSH proposed, and Mr. F. F. TUCKETT seconded, a vote of thanks to the President for his address, saying that the Society had felt a growing debt of gratitude to Mr. Taylor for his able editorship of the *Transactions*.

The PRESIDENT then announced that the Master of the Society of Merchant Venturers was entertaining the members of the Council to luncheon. The High Sheriff had most kindly offered one hundred invitations to his official garden party, which the Council had been obliged with regret to decline on account of the business before the meeting.

The vote was carried and acknowledged.

Canon BAZELEY announced that for some time they had hoped the excavations at Hayles Abbey would be continued, and now Mr. Andrews, of Toddington, the owner of the property, had invited the Society to continue the work, and he would pay the expenses.

The members of Council then proceeded to the Merchants' Hall, where they were entertained at luncheon in accordance with the usual custom of that ancient, wealthy and hospitable Society.

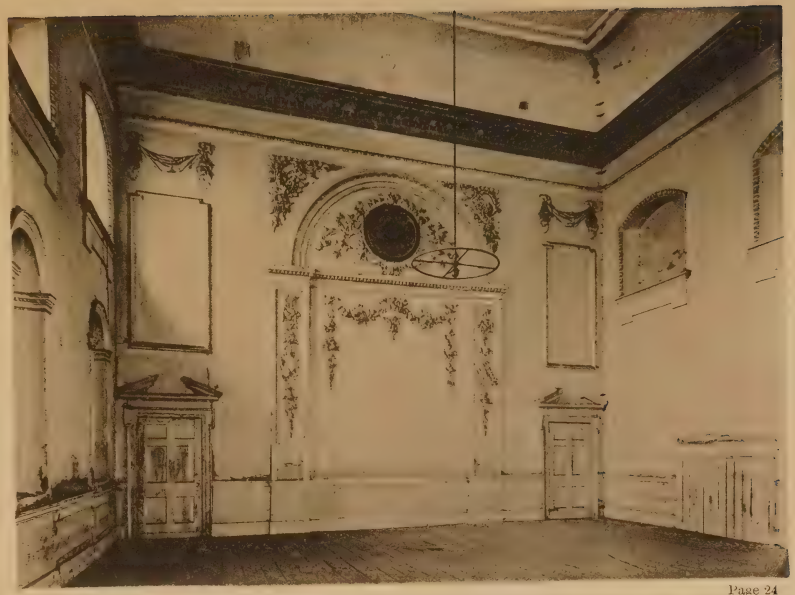
Mr. Were gives the following account of the Arms of the Society of Merchant Venturers:—"In the vestibule to the Hall the Society kindly exhibited their framed Grant of Arms, and as I hear the counterpart is not at the Heralds' College it is very valuable. It was granted by Robert Cooke *alias* Clarencieulx Roy D'armes in 1569. It is correctly printed in Mr. Latimer's book, pp. 51-2, and is accompanied with a gorgeous plate so nearly right that it seems a pity to have to say that it is not drawn according to the blazon of the Grant, which says that the lion is passant, not guardant; the only place in which I can find it properly drawn is in Barrett, p. 182, but he has spoilt the rest of the coat by making the barry wavy anything but of eight pieces as in the Grant. I am really afraid that Edmondson, who printed so many false coats, must be blamed for it, as I cannot find any earlier blazon with the 'guardant' added; he also blazons the dragon passant, whereas Cooke says volant, and he adds, the mast has a pennon flying argent charged with a cross gules, about which Cooke says nothing, and if there is no other blazon variation Mr. Latimer's plate

differs from that. Again, Edmondson says of the crest: 'A man in armour proper on his dexter arm a truncheon, his sinister hand supporting a carved shield of the second, *i.e.* argent,' whereas Cooke says, 'A man in maile in proper coollor, in his right hande a targe, and in the lefte hande a dart or.' Mr. Latimer's plate gives this right, but surely the warrior should have on his head a morion, not only a mass of bushy hair. Edmondson says six pikestaves, three on each side, and the rigging sable; the plate gives four pikestaves and rigging or; both of these may be implied in the term 'armed,' used by Cooke, but do not come into the Grant; but the chief change since Cooke's time is the addition of the ducal or crest coronet, about which the Grant says plainly there is none: 'Upon the heaulme on a wreath golde and asur. the toppe of a ship.' All these items prove that dabblers have been at work, and I cannot help feeling that when this happened, such an achievement so contrary to the Grant, as that which now appears on the 'margent,' supplanted the original. I have good cause for thinking that the Society will soon be supplied with a shield properly painted according to the original Grant."

After luncheon the members set out on a perambulation of the city, their visit including several interesting places which before long will cease to exist.

The old Assembly Rooms, Prince Street, were first visited, and the PRESIDENT explained that from the time of George II. down to within living memory it was the city's place of amusement, just as the Victoria Rooms and the Colston Hall were at the present time. The Assembly Rooms belonged to the Corporation, but they had been let on lease to the Great Western Railway Company, who had obtained a new lease of the premises, and they would shortly come down.

Dr. ALFRED HARVEY gave an interesting account of the rooms. He said:—At this third meeting of the Society in Bristol it has been thought wise to pass by the greater monuments of antiquity, which are well known to every member, and to devote our attention to some less important but less known works, and especially to those whose imminent removal or destruction makes it likely that this is the last opportunity the Society will have of viewing them. The room we are now in belongs to both these categories. The importance of the assembly in the social life of the eighteenth century can be scarcely overrated, as is manifested by the frequent allusions in the memoirs and letters of the period, and particularly by such documents as the novels of Jane Austen and others. It provided opportunities for the frequent meeting of the citizens with a dignified formality which was wanting elsewhere, and formed a meeting-place for the younger members of their families, where acquaintances could be made and acquaintance ripen into friendship, whose place has been scarcely filled by the agencies of the present day, and to both old



OLD ASSEMBLY ROOMS, BRISTOL.

and young it gave an urbanity, a polish of manner, artificial no doubt, but none the less desirable.

This room was opened in 1752, and assemblies had been previously held at the Merchant Taylors' Hall, and for a short time at the fine hall of the Coopers' Company, which we shall pass presently. The subscription was two guineas, and assemblies were held fortnightly through the winter. Dancing began at 6.30 and ended at 11. Till 8 the stately minuet was danced, and afterwards country dances, which then filled the place now occupied by the waltz. At the end of the season the surplus funds were devoted to a cotillion ball. For non-dancers there were cards in the drawing-room, and simple refreshments were to be obtained in the coffee-room. A similar subscription of two guineas provided a series of concerts, which were held in the alternate weeks with the assemblies.

During the first half of the last century, when assemblies had gone out of fashion, the rooms were used for concerts, lectures and panoramas, until the Victoria Rooms took their place, when this building passed into the hands of the Great Western Railway Company.

I should like to call your attention to the fine proportions of the room, to the meritorious character of the rich plaster-work decorations, and especially to the external front—a very charming example of the street architecture of the period—to the last bearing aloft its motto, "Curas Cithara Tollit."

The next place to be visited was the old mansion of the Langton family Welsh Back, Mrs. Franklyn, the owner, having kindly given permission. In passing through Old King Street short halts were made to take a look at the Seamen's Almshouses, the old City Library, and the Llandoger Tavern. At the old mansion on the Welsh Back the party were received by Mr. Ruding Davey, of the firm of Messrs. Franklyn, Morgan and Davey, who formerly used the premises for their tobacco manufactory, but have now removed the business to a fine site at Ashton Gate.

Mr. J. E. PRITCHARD acted as guide, and gave an interesting address on the various objects of interest. He said the place they were assembled in had long been known as the "Langton" Mansion. It was evidently erected by one John Langton in the twentieth year of the reign of James I., and the date 1623 might still be seen in two places in the interior. Very little was known of the family when that name first appeared in Bristol history, but the builder of the house was evidently a wealthy burgher—one who would be styled in our degenerate age as a "merchant prince." John Langton appeared to have been mayor in 1628, his son one of the sheriffs in 1634; and Thomas, grandson of the builder, was an apprentice to William Cann, another rich citizen, and eventually married his master's daughter, adding wealth to wealth. The said Thomas became Master of the Merchant Venturers in 1664, and was

knighted by the king about the same time. As "Sir Thomas" he served the city as mayor in 1666, but died in 1673, being buried in the adjoining St. Nicholas' Church. His bequests included a legacy of twenty shillings per annum for a service to be preached on Good Friday for ever, which was still doubtless enjoyed by the member of that society who now held the living. The mansion was probably occupied by the Langton family for many years, but in 1732 it was inhabited by another chief magistrate, by name Arthur Taylor, a distiller. In 1779 it was the residence of John Davies, tobacconist. About 1816, however, Messrs. Franklyn, Humphries, and Co. had become possessed of the property, and, as tobacco manufacturers, they had carried on business there ever since, though a fire in 1817 might have burned the house down. As it was, the lead roof had to be taken away, being so badly damaged. The merchants of Bristol in the Elizabethan era appeared to have done two things well—they attended to their business, and when they had amassed wealth they built fine houses of many stories, never being ashamed to live over their warehouse or shop. They must have acquired, too, a considerable taste for architecture, judging by the charming interiors of their mansions; and there were several of these existing at the present time, showing wonderful proportions and of exquisite designs, that being one. The state-room upstairs was certainly the handsomest room in Bristol, and showed the Renaissance style to perfection. To reach it they had to climb a wonderfully-carved staircase, an item of expense in building which many a present-day millionaire would shrink from. They would remember that staircase when they were at Chelvey the next day, where the example was much wider, but far less ornate. Though the house had been altered very considerably from its original condition, he hoped, with the aid of Mr. Moline's marvellous photographs, to give a short account of what remained in an early volume of the *Transactions*. The room at the back was then visited, and Mr. Pritchard explained that that room was an important apartment, judging by the remains of oak panelling, with its delightful interlacing scroll-pattern frieze, and the handsome oval in the ceiling, which evidently had four masked heads intersecting the heavy leaf-pattern border. The great staircase, which comprises forty-two steps and has five turns, was then mounted, and it was remarked that there were actually fifty-one heavy balusters carved on both sides with fruit-pattern ornamentation, and the three lower newals carry carved ornamental heads, but these may be later additions. The room over the state-room was inspected, and Mr. Pritchard pointed out the original oak panelling, which is dark with age, some of the frieze being of the same design as that in the basement, intersected with wheel-pattern ornaments, and the remainder is composed of long and short carved panels. There is a typical stone chimney-piece in this compartment of late Elizabethan

design, surmounted by an oak overmantel, dated 1623. The party descended to the apartment on the first floor, which has lately been used as an office. Here, again, another carved stone chimney-piece, surmounted by a magnificent oak overmantel, in three divisions, with column supports, was seen. The left panel, it was noticed, bears the builder's initials, I.L., and the date 1623; the centre panel contains a ship in full sail, and the one to the right the merchant's mark, I.L., in cypher. The last place visited was the state-room, which is a wonderful combination, the superb chimney-piece being unequalled in the city. Mr. Pritchard pointed out that the panelling is of oak, surmounted by a beautiful frieze of Renaissance scroll work, with shields of arms and merchants' marks intersecting alternately. The ceiling is of parget work, and is particularly rich in design. The door and doorway excited admiration, for they comprise the finest workmanship in Spanish mahogany and inlay. Mr. Pritchard, after describing the room, said he must come to the dark side of the story, for it was just possible that some of the members present might not have heard that all the ancient work in that place was to be shortly removed from Bristol and re-erected in a modern Jacobean house in Hampshire, where the owner (Mrs. Franklyn) hoped all that was fine would find its full and worthy setting. He (the speaker) was inclined to think that if the city of Bristol had planned an architectural court in association with its Art Gallery for the reception of such remains as those, that decision might not have matured. He had on several occasions spoken of the totally inadequate accommodation provided for Bristol exhibits at that institution, and he must again repeat the same opinion. Bristol had always been considered rich in relics of the past, and she still possessed very many, but he was constantly hearing of historic objects which ought to be secured for the city collection at any cost being purchased and taken away. And whereas other corporations were doing their utmost to retain their historical associations, we unfortunately were content to let them slip.

Mr. F. Were has very kindly given the following account of the Langton House heraldry:—"On staircase frieze, untinctured, 'Quarterly sable and or a bend argent,' LANGTON, impaling, untinctured, 'Gules three chamber-pieces (*i.e.* guns, a canting coat), fessways in pale argent,' GUNNING, as at Cold Ashton. I can find no pedigree to prove the marriage; but John Gunning, or Gouning in Latimer's *Merchant Venturers*, was, Barrett (p. 689) says, Mayor of Bristol 1627, and John Langton 1628. Over chimney-piece, first shield, untinctured, LANGTON as before. Second shield, untinctured, really 'Azure on waves of the sea proper (but I think in this case more like barry wavy of ten argent and azure and with the full blazon a dolphin's head in the water), a full-rigged ship of three masts or, sails argent (full blazon, with a cross gules on each) dexterways,

in dexter chief the sun in splendour, and should be in sinister an estoile, but it was another sun, all of the third; on a chief of the fourth (simply a party quarterly line) a cross gules charged with a lion of England,' COMPANY OF SPANISH MERCHANTS. Crest: Two arms embowed, issuing out of clouds proper, holding in the hands a globe or. On third shield, Langton's mark. Over door in parlour: Quarterly, 1 and 4, LANGTON as before, untinctured. 2, 'Fretty, on a canton a cross moline.' This is MUMBY, and should be 'Or fretty azure on a canton gules a cross moline of the first.' Maddison's *Lincolnshire Pedigrees*, ii. 581: 'John Langton, of Langton, married . . . daughter and coheir of . . . Mumby.' 3, 'Four martlets.' 'Sable four martlets 2 and 2 argent,' MEWTER. The same reference. 'John Langton, of Langton, married Katherine, daughter and coheir of John Mewter, of Saltflethaven; he was great-great-great-grandson of the last pair. On esquire's helmet on wreath the crest, untinctured: Eagle or and wivern vert their necks entwined reguardant. On inlaid door: Langton coat cut out leaving the crest in ivory above and a metal shield let in bearing 'Argent on a bend azure three dolphins haurient of the field,' and in chief on a wreath the crest: Dolphin embowed proper finned gules pierced through the sides with two spears in saltire or tied at the top. This is the Franklyn coat and crest, and the door bore the date 1628 and initials J. L. Over chimney-piece: The achievement of James I. It is worth while to see how heraldry is treated in St. Nicholas' crypt by the modern artist's seascape of the coat of the Spanish merchants."

It was explained by Mr. Pritchard that Mrs. Franklyn, in referring to the old work having been badly treated, was alluding to the condition of the building before Messrs. Franklyn, Davey and Co. carried on their business.

The PRESIDENT said there should be some place in the city where relics of antiquity, such as the door, fireplace and ceiling of the state-room in those premises, might be deposited for preservation. It need not require great cost. No state-room such as that had been erected in Bristol within living memory. He proposed a resolution: "That it is the opinion of this meeting, assembled in the guest-room of the Langton Mansion, which is shortly to be removed from Bristol, that urgent measures should be taken for the preservation of the remaining specimens of domestic achitecture in Bristol."

Mr. F. F. FOX seconded the resolution. He thought such remains as they had there might be housed in the new Reference Library. The ceiling would be difficult to take down whole, but copies could have been made.

The resolution was carried, and also a recommendation that it be sent to the Council and the Bristol Society of Architects.

A vote of thanks was accorded to Mr. RUDING DAVEY, who, in

COURT ROOM, ST. PETER'S HOSPITAL.

COURT ROOM, ST. PETER'S HOSPITAL.

responding, said that the firm had vacated the old place, but were now in better surroundings than they had been there. As respected the old building, for a great many years it was their pride and endeavour to keep everything as it had been formerly. The building was not mutilated by the hands of the firm.

On their way to St. Peter's Hospital, the party looked in at the crypt of St. Nicholas' Church.

Tea was provided in the large downstairs room at St. Peter's Hospital, and afterwards Mr. J. J. SIMPSON, Clerk to the Guardians, who is an efficient archæologist, read a paper on the fine old structure. He said:—

Examples of the houses of the wealthier middle-class citizens of the fifteenth, sixteenth, and seventeenth centuries are now few in our ancient cities, and this picturesque gabled mansion is generally admitted to be one of the most extensive, characteristic, and interesting examples remaining of these fast-vanishing relics. Near at hand in Mary-le-Port Street and elsewhere there existed until quite recently several specimens of the overhanging pentices, gables, and dormers of the street frontages of olden time, but none of so elaborate a kind as here seen, whilst within there is this handsome Jacobean apartment with its carved fire-place and richly-ornamented ceiling.

The earliest ascertained owner of the house, or an earlier one on the same site, was John Corne, who in 1401 disposed of it to Thomas Norton, who had come into a great fortune through Elias Spelly, Mayor of Bristol in 1390-1. Thomas Norton was himself Mayor of Bristol in 1413. In 1435 the mansion passed into the hands of Norton's two sons, Thomas and Walter, who divided it into two dwellings, Thomas residing in the eastern and Walter in the western portion of the building. The whole came into the possession and occupancy of Walter Norton in 1458. Walter Norton had two sons, both named Thomas, and two daughters, married to wealthy Bristolians—Robert Strange (thrice mayor) and John Shipward, jun. (mayor 1477-8). One of the sons was notorious in 1479 for his hostility to the mayor, William Spencer, against whom he alleged high treason to the king (Edward IV.), a long and interesting account of which appears as a "Remembrance," compiled by John Twynho, then recorder, in the *Great Red Book* of the city. The late Mr. John Latimer contributed an interesting paper on these curious incidents to the Society's *Transactions*, vol. xxii., pp. 272-85. The mansion remained in the occupation of successive generations of the Norton family until 1580, when Sir George Norton, the then owner, and also owner of the mansion of Abbot's Leigh, sold it to Henry Newton, afterwards Sir Henry Newton, of Barr's Court. The next known owner was Robert Chambers (1602), who sold it in 1607 to Robert Aldworth, a wealthy merchant, whose initials are to be seen on the river front with the date 1612. At the

latter date this gentleman made considerable alterations and additions, practically rebuilding the house in the style of the period, for in a later deed it is described as having been "by the said Robert Aldworth erected and new built." In September, 1612, the Corporation granted him, at a fee-farm rent of £3, the fee of another house in the same parish of St. Peter, and it is possible that this acquisition forms the earlier portion of the building, which the alderman left unaltered. At any rate, this eastern frontage in the churchyard is of much earlier date, and there is little doubt that it formed part of the original edifice of the Nortons.

The open timbered Gothic roof over the Jacobean plastered ceiling in the court-room is also of this earlier date, and was probably the canopy of the great hall of the mansion before the reconstruction of 1612, and extended from the back to the front of the building.

The street frontage, with its bold spurs and brackets which sustain the successive stories, the carved fillets between the stages, the grotesque woodwork, panels, bay-windows, and gables form part of the reconstruction effected in 1612 by Aldworth. So is the court-room, the chief feature of interest remaining in the house, a beautiful Jacobean sitting-room of Aldworth's time, with its panelling of oak and its sumptuously-executed plaster-work ceiling, constructed in square, diamond, and quatrefoil compartments in bold relief, with floral ornaments, emblematical devices, and winged figures, fringed with a deep cornice. The window some time ago replaced a former one which had bold stone mullions. The adjoining apartment is similar in character, but less elaborate, and there are some quaint sculptured figures in the porch of the river front near the monogram and date (1612) before referred to. Practically all other portions of the building are of modern reconstruction.

Briefly pursuing the history of the building from Aldworth's time (and, by the way, there is a fine tomb in the adjoining church to the memory of Aldworth, who died in 1634), we find it in possession of Aldworth's relative, Eldridge, and successively inhabited by various families until it became appropriated to trade purposes about the middle of the seventeenth century. It was first used as a sugar-house, and it is supposed that this was the place in Bristol visited by Evelyn, who in 1654 wrote: "Here I first saw the method of refining sugar and casting it into loaves." Then in 1696, on the Government determining to supplement the coinage at the Tower by the establishment of branch mints in some leading provincial towns, the civic authorities pressed the claims of Bristol, and being informed that provision of a suitable house must first be made at the cost of the citizens, it is recorded that the City Corporation appointed a committee "to make a bargain with Sir Thomas Day for the Sugar House, and the House will find the way of paying the rent." The sugar house referred to was this building, and it was occupied as

a mint from 1696 to 1698. In the British Museum is a unique placard, issued by the mayor and aldermen in August, 1696, giving notice that the Government had sent down for the benefit of the city one thousandweight of silver, valued at upwards of £3,000, to be coined at the new mint, and requesting the inhabitants to further the operations by furnishing old plate, for which a reward of 6d. per ounce would be paid in addition to the standard value of 5s. 2d. Holders of old hammered money were also promised a premium on the amount they sent in. How largely the invitation was responded to is attested by the fact that within sixteen months the Bristol Mint dealt with nearly 2,000,000 ounces of silver, which were converted into £473,728 in coin.

Finally, in 1698 the old house passed into the hands of its present owners, then known as the Corporation of the Poor. This body was established under a special Act of Parliament in 1696, and was the first Board of Guardians formed in England. Time will not admit of any reference to the curious functions assumed or exercised by this seventeenth-century authority, though there is much to interest those who find pleasure in studying the town life of the period. Finding in 1697 their workhouse inadequate, the Corporation of the Poor appointed a committee to select some other building, and this committee reported in December that they found "none so fit or convenient for the purpose as the Mint." Negotiations were opened, and in 1698 it was purchased for £800, and thereupon converted into a workhouse for the poor. The beautiful Jacobean sitting-room erected by Aldworth was fitted up by the Guardians as a chamber or court-room for their meetings, and was used continuously from October, 1698, to December, 1901, for this purpose.

The entire premises are now occupied for administrative purposes only by the Guardians, who on quitting the court-room in 1901 for the new Board-room in the south-western portion of the building preserved the historic apartment intact.

Mr. E. C. TYACK thanked the members for paying them a visit, and the PRESIDENT expressed the pleasure their visit had given to the members.

After quitting St. Peter's Hospital, the party traversed Mary-le-Port Street and inspected the old gabled houses. They also viewed All Saints' Church, now under repair, it being described by Mr. G. H. Oatley. This point terminated a most interesting street ramble, in which Mr. J. E. Pritchard (the Honorary Secretary for Bristol) had acted as guide in the most efficient manner.

In the evening the spacious room at the farther end of the central hall at the Royal Hotel, College Green, was metamorphosed, so that it appeared as a most captivating local exhibition. It would not be saying more than the fact warranted to state that no such comprehensive collec-

tion of old Bristol plans, Bristol coins, and miscellaneous antiquities had been submitted to inspection upon any previous occasion. To Mr. J. E. Pritchard, who was instrumental in obtaining the loan of the different objects, must be awarded high praise for the efficient manner in which he carried out the work of making so comprehensive an assortment. Miss Roper, who assisted him, likewise deserves to have her efforts recognised. The old plans of Bristol were truly noteworthy, and included all, or nearly all, from Ricart's in 1479 to modern plans by Ashmead, Donne, Evans, and Mathews. Time-honoured maps of Gloucestershire were also displayed. The catalogue is printed at the end of the account of the meeting.

Amongst those who accepted invitations to the conversazione were the following :—The Lord Mayor (Mr. A. J. Smith) and the Lady Mayoress, the High Sheriff and Miss Riseley, the Bishop of Bristol, the Bishop of Clifton, the Master of the Society of Merchant Venturers, Judge Austin and Mrs. Austin, the Archdeacon of North Wilts and Mrs. Robeson, Canon and Mrs. Barnett, Canon Tetley, Bishop Marsden, Canon Wallace, and a large number of members of the Society and their friends.

The "Strad" Band, under the direction of Mr. Charles W. Webb, was in attendance, and played an interesting programme.

It seemed a pity that such a particularly fine collection of exhibits should remain on view for such a short period ; but there was no possibility of arranging for a longer time, and the next morning they were packed up for return to their owners.

The PRESIDENT, during the course of the evening, made a short statement. He drew attention to the Chatterton manuscript which was exhibited in one of the cases, and said that Mr. W. E. George, the owner, had very kindly undertaken to give it to be added to the Chatterton relics at the Art Gallery. He thought that was a proof, if proof were needed, of the value of small collections of that kind towards improving their city exhibitions. The manuscript had been held in the possession of the George and Swann families ever since the time of Chatterton. It came through the hands of the poet's sister, who was governess in the family of Mr. Philip George, and he was sure the city authorities would be very grateful to Mr. W. E. George for the gift, and the members would feel glad that that Society had been the means of enriching the city collection. By the side of the manuscript was a little Prayer Book, which was given by the poet's sister, Sarah Chatterton, to her daughter, Mary Newton. That belonged now to Mr. J. E. Pritchard, who wished also to give it to the Chatterton Collection at the Art Gallery. These two very interesting gifts of really considerable value were given to the city through their Society, so that they might claim that their meeting there had done some good.

Punctually at nine o'clock on Wednesday morning the party, about

ninety in number, left the Royal Hotel in College Green for an excursion in North Somerset. The district was a very suitable one for a visit, because it was in early days very closely connected with Bristol, for almost every parish through which we passed belonged at the date of Domesday to Geoffrey, Bishop of Coutances, Constable of Bristol Castle. It probably came to him in 1067, for in that year Harold's sons came from Ireland, and, landing by the mouth of the Avon, plundered the neighbourhood and attacked Bristol. Being defeated in this attempt, they went up into Somerset, but were defeated by Eadnoth the Staller, who lost his life in the battle, in which we are told many good men fell on each side. The Bishop's lands in this district probably represent the forfeited estates of thanes who joined the invaders.

After the rebellion of the Bishop's nephew, Robert of Mowbray, in 1095, the property reverted to the Crown. Much of it was granted to Robert Fitzhamon, and descended to the Earls of Gloucester, and a good deal afterwards passed to Robert Fitzhardinge and his descendants, but there was no large resident landowner in the district till the rise of the Ashton Court Estate.

Leigh was given by Robert Fitzhardinge to St. Augustine's Abbey at Bristol; after the Dissolution it became part of the endowment of the Bishopric of Bristol, but was alienated from the See in the reign of Edward VI. The rectories of Clevedon and Tickenham were also appropriated to St. Augustine's Abbey.

After crossing the Suspension Bridge we passed along the north side of Ashton Park, and then by Failand, with peeps over the vale of Wraxall towards Mendip, till, after enjoying the view over the Channel by Avonmouth, we descended sharply into the Sea-Marsh by Clapton. This place, together with Easton, Weston, and Walton, is still marked by the title of *in Gordano*. The late Bishop Hobhouse considered the meaning of this title with the help of transcripts of ancient documents collected by Sir Walter Morgan, of Naish House, in 1884.[1] The earliest occurrence of the term was in the form *Weston in Gordenlond* in 1271, while in 1327 *Eastone in Gordano* is found, giving the exact form which is in use now. The title is affixed not only to the four parishes mentioned above, but also to Portbury and Portishead.

It is clear that the term is territorial, implying that the places lie in a certain district, that district being, in fact, the marsh which lies between the two ridges of mountain limestone which meet at Clevedon. All the parishes which lie in this marsh possessed the suffix, which was appended to none which lie outside. The Bishop suggested that the name was derived from the two old English words *gara*, a triangular piece (of land), and *denu*, a valley; and no combination could more fitly describe the

[1] *Somerset Archæological Proceedings*, xxxix. 61.

shape of this piece of marsh. We may notice that the settlement in the farthest corner is Walton, *Wealton*, the place of the Welshmen who were driven by the Saxons to this remotest spot.

Our first halt was at Clapton, which was one of the estates of the Honour of Gloucester, and which was held by members of the family of Arthur from the time of Stephen till early in the seventeenth century, when it passed by marriage to the Winters of Dyrham.

On leaving Clapton we crossed the marsh to Weston, which, though it had belonged to the Bishop of Coutances, passed neither to the Honour of Gloucester nor to Robert Fitzhardinge, but probably through the Bishop's tenant Ascelin to the Percevals, by whom it was held till early in the eighteenth century.

The two parishes of Walton and Clevedon, through which we passed on the way to Clevedon Court, did not belong to the Bishop of Coutances, no doubt because they were held by two Danes, Gunni and John, who refused to join the sons of Harold in 1067. The Manor of Clevedon was held of the Earl of Gloucester in 1166 by William de Clivedon, and was owned by his descendants till it was purchased by Sir Abraham Elton early in the eighteenth century.

Soon after leaving Clevedon the road skirted the northern boundary of the parish of Kenn, the area of which is small, though its interests are various. Its manor house was the home for some centuries of the family from which Thomas Ken, Bishop of Bath and Wells, and the author of the well-known Morning and Evening Hymns, was descended, and three men were hung on Kenn Moor for rick-burning as recently as September 13th, 1830.

After leaving Chelvey, we reached the main road from Bristol to Weston-super-Mare, with Backwell Church on the hill to the right, and Wraxall Church under the woods to the left, and soon after passing the little church of Flax Bourton, which contains some good Norman work, we entered the parish of Long, or Lyons, Ashton. Nicholas de Lyons is named by good authorities as holding the office of *Propositus* of Bristol in 1252,[1] and members of his family held the estate till Thomas de Lyons, after obtaining a license to enclose a Park in 1392, died without issue, and the estate was sold in 1454 by his cousin and heiress to Richard Choke, afterwards Lord Chief Justice. After passing through several hands, the Long Ashton Estate was purchased in 1545 by John Smith, Esq., Sheriff of Bristol in 1532, and Mayor in 1547 and 1554, by whose descendants it has been held to the present day.

It is worthy of note that the wealthiest estates in Gloucestershire and Somerset, those of Berkeley and Long Ashton, were both founded by chief magistrates of Bristol.

[1] *Transactions*, xxvi. 116.

The first halt was at Clapton Church. This little thirteenth-century building, dedicated to St. Michael and All Angels, is not the landmark that one usually associates with this saint, for, although situated on an eminence, it is almost entirely shut out from view by a mass of foliage. After our delightful drive we mounted the hill and approached the church by the south porch, noticing the doorway and steps in the east wall, which originally led to a gallery. Proceeding inside, at the west end is the tower, and this is undoubtedly the earliest portion of the building. Through the Early English arch a two-light thirteenth-century window is seen, which externally has a hood moulding of dog-tooth ornament. The windows of the nave and chancel are Perpendicular. The church underwent many alterations in the fifteenth century.

On the north side, and approached through a thirteenth-century archway, is the Manorial Chapel, at present the property of Sir Edward Wills. This is also thirteenth-century work. In the west wall is a single-light lancet, the east window is Early Decorated, and, on the north side, now blocked by the Renaissance monument to one of the Wynter family, is a two-light Decorated window; this is visible from the exterior. The small chantry adjoining has, in the east wall, a delightful example of a two-light Early English traceried window. The head contains a quatre-foiled circle, the cusping being visible only from the interior. Externally the hood moulding is stopped on one side with a rose, and on the other with a cluster of oak leaves. The chancel has an Early English piscina, and the candlesticks, which are probably pre-Reformation, are of latten, and very light in weight. There are a few benches of elm of fourteenth-century work.

The rector, the Rev. W. Horne, who would have been pleased to welcome the party, was unavoidably absent. Mr. C. F. W. DENING had, however, most kindly undertaken to describe the interior. In the course of his remarks Mr. Dening said the church was restored in 1882, and unfortunately the masonry was then covered with plaster. Most of the windows were fifteenth-century work He directed attention to the curious caps of the chancel arch, which are the outcome of the problem to connect a thirteenth-century archway with the fifteenth-century period, when a restoration of the church took place. The small south window near the chancel was adverted to by Mr. Dening, who said it would have afforded light to the rood as well as the staircase. The corresponding window on the north side he could say nothing about, it had been said that it was put in to match the other. The double-arched doorway, separating the nave from the tower was originally in the court house. Mr. Parker observed of it that it was "probably the most remarkable piece of early wooden domestic screen work in existence."

Although a visit was paid to Clapton Court it was very brief, for with

the exception of the entrance porch very little of the original building remains. The tower which is embattled is of three stories, and all the existing windows are of fifteenth-century date. The original plan of the house seems to have been a parallelogram with the axis east and west and with a tower on the north. On the tower are the arms of the Arthur family impaling Berkeley, and this fixes the date of this part of the building as that of Richard Arthur, who married Alice, daughter of James, Lord Berkeley, *circa* 1465. The entrance leads direct to the screens, and here between the hall and the buttery was the screen which we had already inspected at the church.

Mr. Were thus describes the heraldry which still remains at Clapton :— "Over manor house porch. Shield of ARTHUR: '(Gules) a chevron (argent) between three clarions (or),' impaling BERKELEY: '(Gules) a chevron between ten crosses pattee (argent)." The Arthur coat is evidently a variation of Robert Consul's, which is accounted for by the fact that Wido de Clapton, in the time of Henry I., held an estate here of Robert, Earl of Gloucester.[1] The impaled coat implies the marriage of Alice, third daughter of James the Just, Lord of Berkeley, with Richard, son of John Arthur, *temp.* Henry VI., and who Collinson thinks founded the manor house. In the church is a large monument, blocking up a nice window, to Edmund Winter, 1672, with the arms of WINTER impaling SOUTHCOTE, and a crest, possibly a unicorn's head, now a well-bearded horse's, which does not seem to be properly identified. Also William Winter's shield impaling Arthur, as he married Mary, daughter and heir of Edward Arthur. Round the capitals of the pillars are the clarions, &c., parts of the Arthur coat of arms."

A drive across the valley brought the party to the pretty village church of Weston-in-Gordano. At the church the party were received by the rector (the Rev. T. G. Bird), and Mr. DENING gave some instructive information with regard to the building. He said it was one of the most interesting churches in Somerset. In the south porch we here see the choir gallery over the doorway; this is believed to be the only in England *in situ*. There is little doubt as to its former use, for in the Sarum Missal (which was the one used in most of the province of Canterbury) it was ordered that during the procession on Palm Sunday seven boys should sing on the south side of the church *eminente loco*, the verses of the hymn, "All glory, laud, and honour." It is probable also that the gallery was used for the adornment of the figure, most likely of Our Lady, which stood in the niche over the door. Rooms over the porches of Somerset churches are generally to be suspected as later additions, and it is probable that most of them, including the south porch at St. Mary Redcliff, were at first open to the roof as this one at Weston is now.

[1] Collinson, iii. 177.

The interior of the church is intensely interesting, inasmuch as it retains most of its ancient fittings, the bench ends with few exceptions being original. The square-headed ones at the west end are of the usual Somersetshire type, the remainder, displaying the poppy heads, are later in date and somewhat rare in this county, though a whole nave full of them may be found at Banwell. An unusual feature in a village church is to be found in the choir stalls with misereres: they are of oak and fourteenth-century design, but the carving is of a rough character.

The screen is chiefly of fifteenth-century work, and the approach to the rood-loft and the corbel for carrying the same are still to be seen. There is a Jacobean wood pulpit on the north side.

Apart from the Norman font, which is *in situ*, the thirteenth-century archway with stone pulpit on the south side, and the tower of Early English work, are the oldest portions of the building existing, at any rate above ground. Doubtless there was originally a Norman church here, and probably the single-light window (now Perpendicular) on the south side between the porch and the stone pulpit is the type of Early English window that lighted the thirteenth-century building.

The chapel of St. Mary Magdalen at the south-east angle was added in the sixteenth century. The fifteenth-century window and doorway of this chapel were removed from the south side of the chancel to form the archway and rebuilt in their present position.

Like the church at Clapton, this building also underwent great alterations in the fifteenth century, when it is thought that the walls were raised some two or three feet in order to permit of tracery being introduced in the Perpendicular windows.

The Rector said he thought that the slab at the high altar was also Norman work. One of the interesting things was the Norman-French inscription upon the tomb of Richard Percival, which is on the north side of the nave in its original position. It is a low *altar-tomb* without effigy. Round the top edge is an inscription in Norman-French, which shows the tomb commemorates Richard Percival, died 1483 This reads:—

Cy . gyste . le . corps . de . Rychарde . Percyvale .
le . quel . morut . J an . de . boinet . Jesus . mcccclxxxiii .
Dieu . ay pitie . de . son . ame.

In the churchyard is another altar-tomb, with two floriated crosses on the slab, and a new modern inscription ascribes it to another Richard Percival, who fought in the Crusades with Richard I. about 1190. Both tombs bear shields charged with the Percival arms, and members of the same family were living in the parish until recent times. The Rector said when the Puritans came to Weston-in-Gordano they made havoc, and

ransacked the Court, formerly occupied by the Percival family, who lived there about six centuries. There was now no trace of that house.

Mr. WERE gave the following account of the heraldry at Weston. There are three shields on the Perceval tomb. 1: "Argent on a chevron sable three escallops of the first," impaling "Sable a chevron ermine between three escallops argent," CHEDDER. 2: "Argent on a chief indented gules three crosses pattee of the first," PERCEVAL, impaling "Gules a bend argent between six fleurs-de-lis or," HAMPTON. 3: PERCEVAL, impaling "Argent in chief three bucks' heads caboshed (Collinson sable), now query proper." As regards the first, Collinson says Ballowe. If it is so, how does the connection come in? and why, as the other two are Perceval impalings, is not this the same? I believe it to be a redaub for Perceval (as Collinson gives the name), though on the tomb it is Percyvale. Seeing the impaling is Chedder, this would be the marriage of his younger brother, who succeeded him, Sir John, and who most likely erected the tomb, with Joan, daughter of Thomas Chedder; but Anderson, in the House of Yvery, draws and names it Sir John Newton, "Arg. on a chev. az. 3 garbs or." Second shield is Richard himself, who married Catherine, daughter and coheiress of Richard Hampton; the last's coat seems to have had variations, as it is found with the field azure and the bend or. The third shield has an impaling which is unidentified; but as it is an impaled shield, it must represent a marriage. I believe it to be a redaub for de Bosco or Boyce, as Sir Ralph Perceval married Joan, daughter and heiress of Richard B., of Tickenham, and so Anderson seems to think.

The next place visited was Clevedon Court, where the members were received in the great hall by the owner, Sir Edmund H. Elton, Bart. When Sir Arthur Elton, at a meeting of the Somerset Society, exactly a quarter of a century ago, read a paper descriptive of the building, he said the Court, like many other old mansions, had, as it were, overgrown of itself. It had been enlarged, and it had been illused, and considerably knocked about. And yet in the long run it had taken all quietly and pleasantly. It gathered up all reasonable additions, and cold and grim as they might first appear, time did wonders, and what threatened to hurt ended in bringing a new development of beauty. In specifying some of the features of the mansion, Sir Arthur said the drawing-room possessed a very good Elizabethan window looking south, which, together with the window of the room over it, was entirely blocked when he came to reside there. There was a legend that many years ago the room was so little appreciated that a pony was allowed to use it as a stable. He safely dismissed that story as a libel on his predecessors and the pony. One of the rooms, known as the oak room, had the reputation of being haunted, and the ghost was said to be a cobbler—not at all an interesting visitant.

On the present occasion the archæologists were cordially received by Sir Edmund H. Elton and Lady Elton, and allowed to wander about the highly interesting mansion. The main features of the mansion were described by Mr. G. H. OATLEY, who pointed out that in the great hall they had an instance where they could see clearly the original plan of the house.

The most interesting portion of the present building[1] dates from the early part of the fourteenth century, and consists of the great hall with its entrances and the usual arrangement of the kitchen and offices at one end and at the other the solar and chapel, with other apartments beneath them. The north and south porches, each having a groove for a portcullis, are still intact. The passage across the east end of the hall, communicating directly from one of these entrances to the other, and formerly known as "the entry," is divided from the hall by a screen (not the original one, however), and above it is the Minstrels' Gallery. At the western end of the hall would have been the dais.

The hall windows are of the Elizabethan period, but have been altered later. The original fourteenth-century windows in both the end gables have been blocked up, but are visible from the roofs. The high-pitched open timber roof of the hall has gone, and there is an eighteenth-century ceiling at the plate level. A fireplace was built into the north wall in the sixteenth century, the original fire no doubt having been in the centre of the hall, the two interesting chimneys in the gable ends being the original means of carrying off the wood smoke.

A fine early seventeenth-century doorway in stone (now painted dark) leads from the hall to the rooms of the western front. On the right-hand side of the entrance passage, as approached from the south porch, are three original fourteenth-century doorways, the central one of which formerly communicated with the kitchen (the way to the Minstrels' Gallery and the room over porch having been approached by means of the stair turret in the porch), the one on the right to the buttery, and the third to other offices.

A good deal of the original work is traceable in the kitchen wing, although the kitchen has been sub-divided and rooms added to form an upper floor.

The gem of the remains of the original building is the room on the first floor above the apartment at the south-west angle of the hall. This was formerly thought to be the ladies' bower, but after the fire of 1882 was discovered to have been the chapel. It has a beautiful window[2] of reticulated tracery on the south, visible to the left of the entrance in the external view, and a window of the same date in the east wall behind the altar. The piscina has been restored.

1 See *Proc. Som. Arch. Soc.*, 1881 and 1899.

2 See Parker's *Domestic Architecture*, ii. 303.

The house was considerably altered and enlarged in the Elizabethan period. Considerable additions were made to the western end of it at that time, and the fine stone doorway of this period led from the hall to these important additions. This part of the house suffered the most seriously from the disastrous fire already referred to, and is now largely modern.

Luncheon was taken at the Walton Park Hotel, Clevedon, and after the meal the members were able to enjoy for half-an-hour a rest, and to breathe the sea air from the terraces of the hotel. Then the carriages arrived, and the journey was resumed to Chelvey, where the party were met by the rector (the Rev. C. Ramsden) and Lieut.-Colonel BRAMBLE. The latter, who is a recognised authority on the history of the Somerset churches, gave an account of Chelvey, which was very much appreciated. He said the church contained little bits of detail which made it one of the most interesting in Somerset. There they had a nave with chancel, and on the south side was a private chapel belonging to the Tynte family. The chancel was divided from the nave by the stone foundations of the rood-loft. He pointed out that the eastern jamb of a doorway near the pulpit was composed of an old gravestone, and said in those days they were not particular what material they used. They would notice the iron let into the wall near that formerly held the hour-glass by which the clergy timed their sermons. If the incumbents of that day did not give a full hour there was a row. A wicked joke was told of one of the old preachers who saw that the sand was getting run out, and he had not half done, so he quickly turned it over, saying, "We 'll have another glass." There was under the altar the oldest sepulchre slab in that part of England. It was that of a knight of the thirteenth century, and its date was about 1280. The figure was in full mail armour, and the mail was covered by a long surcoat. The recesses in the chapel were similar to those over the Berkeley tombs in Bristol Cathedral. At the end of the chapel there was an Elizabethan or Jacobean pew, where the manorial family used to sit. There were still remains of ancient glass in some of the windows, including a shield and the emblems of the Apostles as they found them in the Book of the Revelation. There used to be also some particularly good specimens of ironwork on one of the pews, and its date was 1621.

As the church of St. Bridget was "restored" as late as 1887, an extract from the architect's report upon the structure before that work was commenced will be of particular interest:—

"The church consists of nave, with western tower, chancel, south porch, and south aisle adjoining the porch, extending eastward nearly as far as the east wall of the chancel.

"The entrance doorway in the south wall of the nave belongs to the Norman period, and probably the north wall of the nave; the windows, which are later insertions, are of the same date.

"The chancel may have been erected in the thirteenth century, as the two north windows are of that date, the east window being a later insertion If the chancel wall is as early as the Norman nave, then the north windows must be insertions.

"There is no arch between the nave and the chancel, but a division is formed by a dwarf wall, which at one time doubtless supported a rood screen.

"All the remaining parts of the church are of much later date, and seem to belong to the Perpendicular period, either of the latter part of the fifteenth or the early part of the sixteenth century, when the church was much altered by pulling down the south walls of the nave and chancel, and the erection of the south aisle by the then representatives of the Tynte family.

"A new roof, now concealed by a flat ceiling, was placed upon the nave walls, and the north windows, as well as the east window of the chancel then inserted; the south porch either built or rebuilt, and the western tower added. The little Norman window in the west wall of the porch may have belonged to the original porch or to some other part of the church.

"Since the sixteenth century there do not appear to have been many structural alterations made, but early in the seventeenth century the church seems to have been partially refitted; for then the handsome carved pew at the west end of the aisle was erected, and some of the ancient benches (of which many, however, still remain) were displaced by pews of the style of that period. Possibly the windows over the three canopied tombs were inserted at this time, as they appear to be of later date than the other Perpendicular windows in the church. There are many memorial slabs in the floors, bearing the names of Tynte and Cottle with others. The tower contains but one bell, and the inscription upon it as given by Ellacombe, in his *Church Bells of Somerset*, is as follows: 'The Rev. Mr. Olive vicar. Mr. John Morgins ch: wardens; Mr. William Cottle overseer 1738 Thos: Bilbie.'"

At the west end of the south or Tynte aisle is the very fine court pew of enriched panelling, of the English Renaissance character: this was cleaned of its paint in 1887, and now appears a soft white. The church is fortunate in still possessing ten old benches of the thirteenth or early fourteenth century: these are quite roughly hewn, but such seats are almost unique.

As to effigies, Miss Roper reports: "In the south aisle on the floor beneath the altar of the chapel there is a very worn incised slab representing the figure of a military knight. To judge from the dress the date would be about 1250 to 1275. The figure is cut life-size, showing armour of chain mail with the hood thrown back on the shoulders. The mail is

covered by a long surcoat and confined by a drooping belt supporting the sword. The chief interest is the long lance held in the right hand, which is rarely shown on tombs or brasses."

With regard to heraldry, Mr. Were reports: "In north window: 'Gules three bars within bordure all round argent,' impaling 'Argent on a fess sable between three bulls' heads cabossed gules armed or, a crescent of the last.' Owing to the bordure of the Baron going all round, I think this was a separate shield, and therefore does not prove a marriage. It might be CHOKE. The impaling was suggested by Mr. Spencer Percival to be the third quartering of Harvy, *Som. Vis.*, p. 47, given as above, only without the crescent for difference and the armed or. As Brockley is close by, and the Harvys had the manor, it is very possible that it was marshalled with theirs. In the *Visitation* it is named Bodimant, but I think it is an old coat of Scovile, the second quartering. Collinson says there are some small remains of painted glass in the windows, by which I suppose he means these two coats, and in the heads of the tracery are three or four emblems of the Evangelists."

A short visit was then paid to the Court House, but this fine old mansion of the Tynte family now means but a fragment of its former greatness. It was probably built at the beginning of the seventeenth century, and Collinson says "it had a park adjoining thereto, a warren and a swannery." Now quite half of the façade is gone, and no original gable is left. What remains of the porch, though much dilapidated, is most elegant. It was originally flanked by very handsome pillars—frequently described as the "Solomon's Temple" pattern, as seen in one of Raphael's cartoons—but only one remains. The porch is surmounted by a beautitul openwork parapet, and much delicate carving. The arms over the entrance are noteworthy. The house is approached by a bridge, and may have been "moated" originally. The chief interior attractions are the wonderful staircase and an exquisite pendant.

There now exist only one or two panelled apartments; the secret chamber, behind one of the fireplaces, has long been demolished, and everything is in a very decayed condition. Great care must therefore be taken in examining the house. The sixteenth-century tithe-barn close by is massively built, of great length, finely proportioned, and of grand simplicity.

At Ashton Court the visitors were received by Lady Smyth, and a delightful surprise was in store for the party, as in the great hall her ladyship had had laid out for the inspection of the archæologists a number of most interesting deeds, with their quaint seals attached, in connection with the estate, and coins and other curios. These were explained to the visitors by Lady Smyth and her nephew, Mr. Lewis Way. One of the earliest documents was a deed, dated 1322, from John

de Meriot and Thomas de Berkeley. Another deed was a grant of land from John de Nevile, the original owner, of Bedminster, the seal attached to the document being a very remarkable one. The parchment conveying the freedom of the city to Thomas Smyth, of Ashton, in the seventeenth year of Charles I., from the "cittie of Bristoll," was viewed with interest and its felicitous phrasing noted. Mr. Lewis Way, who is keenly interested in ancient MSS. and literature, had seen in the report of the conversazione that Mr. T. D. Taylor had sent a thick volume of Cromwellian newspapers (size 8½ in. by 6 in.), which included the record of *Mercurius Politicus*, August 9th, 1660, that "Hugh Smyth, of Long Ashton, Esquire," was a Deputy-Lieutenant for Somerset. Mr. Way had for the inspection of the visitors the document making the appointment, it being signed by Lord Hertford, The portrait of this Sir Hugh Smyth, who was sent on an embassy to Bohemia to conclude peace with one of the Archdukes, was pointed out to the visitors. An Austrian coin of the date 1657 was of interest, as quite by accident it was found that it unscrewed, and secreted in the centre was a series of clever sketches on talc of various costumes which fitted on to a figure represented on one of the discs. Some rare coins were also shown, and the visitors spent a very pleasant quarter of an hour in inspecting these treasures; not the least curious of the objects to which attention was directed being the pigtail of Tom Provis, the impostor who claimed to be the rightful owner of the Ashton estates. Lady Smyth took this memento up and laughingly handed it round for inspection. Afterwards they were shown the various apartments in the mansion, including the wonderful drawing-room. Afternoon tea was served on the terrace, where the visitors enjoyed to the full the charming gardens, bright with flowers, and admired the interesting series of carved stone garden vases of the Elizabethan period. Under the direction of Mr. G. H. Oatley, the members inspected the oldest remaining parts of the mansion.

Few to whom Ashton Court is familiar, as seen from the south in crossing the park, are aware that, screened by its long formal façade, are picturesque remains of the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries.

The accompanying illustration is reproduced, by kind permission of Lady Smyth, from an engraving published in 1802, and shows the aspect of the house from the east at that date. On the south is a building of sixteenth-century date with traceried windows; twin turrets flanking a gateway, possibly as early, but with roofs of a century later; at the west a wing of the Elizabethan period, and on the north extensive modern buildings ascribed to the reign of George III. The last-named have been superseded by later buildings. Of the former the greater parts remain, but they have suffered so terribly from alterations and additions from time to time during the last century that a reconstruction

of the original plan seems almost impossible. The shell of the long building on the south remains: the front of it has been altered and cased, and a new wing added, flanking on the east the turrets seen in the plate; but at the west end of the old front are remains of an original turret.

In the Elizabethan wing the west front has been refaced, but some of its rooms retain their original features—notably interesting chimney-pieces and wall-panelling, also windows looking into internal courtyards, one being originally called "Castle Court" from its having been embattled.

A number of the fifteenth-century windows and some chambers of the wing of that date remain.

A Jacobean lead rain-water head still exists. It bears a cherub's head above a lion's head, with the date 1634. The initials "T. F. S." were probably intended for Thomas and Florence Smyth, who were married in 1627, the latter being a daughter of John, Lord Poulett.

Before the visitors left the PRESIDENT thanked Lady Smyth for the enjoyable visit the members had had.

Her LADYSHIP, in reply, said: "I am very glad to have seen you, and thank you for having brought such beautiful weather."

The drive through the park on the way home was by no means the least pleasant part of an altogether delightful day.

The Annual Dinner was held in the evening at the Royal Hotel, and it was agreed that if the pavement at Woodchester is uncovered next year the Annual Meeting shall be held at Stroud.

On Thursday the route taken was through Pucklechurch to Marshfield, returning over Toghill. The district through which we passed was in early days forest—the Forest of Kingswood, dependent on Bristol, to the south, and the Forest of Horwood, which has left its name in Horfield, Horton, and Horwood Gate Farm, near Sodbury, to the north. The hunting-seat of the latter forest was in the time of William Rufus at Alveston. The whole area was disafforested in 1227. On leaving the valley of the Frome we passed up by one of the several Ridgeways in our district to Fishponds, the birthplace of Hannah More; and soon after crossing the Midland Railway, on entering Pucklechurch, we left the ancient manor of Barton by Bristol. King Edmund was murdered by Liofa, a robber, at Pucklechurch on May 26th, 946. He was buried at Glastonbury, to which church the estate of Pucklechurch was given by King Edwy four years later. In 1218 it was surrendered by the monks to Bishop Jocelin as part of the price of the separation of the abbey from the See of Wells, and the church still belongs to the Chapter of Wells. The name is probably derived from *pucel*, a goblin, the "Puck" of Shakespeare. The murder may have taken place at a spot still known

as "The Palace," a short distance north of the church; but Roger of Wendover, a late authority, puts it at "Micheleberi," and Michelwood Chase lies a short distance south of Berkeley.

At Pucklechurch, which was visited by the Society in 1878 and 1900,[1] the party were met by the vicar, the Rev. S. T. Gillum. The church of St. Thomas the Martyr, probably late fourteenth century, is a large building; it has a nave with north aisle and very plain south porch.

The tower at the west end is of three stages with low pinnacles. There are traces of a late Norman doorway on the north side, and an interesting Flamboyant window in the north wall. The fabric is interesting for its effigies, which unfortunately have no inscriptions. Miss Roper describes them as follows:—

"At the east end of the nave on the floor is the effigy of a civilian in the costume worn about 1350. Over the tunic is the long côtehardie and a tippet and hood, the girdle and hanging purse being shown. At the east end of the north aisle is an effigy of a lady of the same period. Her costume is interesting, because it shows the introduction of an early form of the 'sideless' côtehardie, although the wimple and coverchief are still retained. Rudder says, 'They are supposed to represent some of the family of the Dennis's, who have been of long standing, and of whom there have been more high sheriffs in this county than of any other name.'"

There are other monuments here to the same family, though much later.

Leaving Pucklechurch, the party drove to Dyrham Camp, where they were met by the Rev. W. E. Blathwayt, and when they had assembled on the spot where more than thirteen hundred years ago one of the decisive battles in English history had been fought, the Bishop of Bristol delivered an address. It was the first time the Society had been to the camp, and it was fortunate that the address on the battle which took place there was given by such a well-known authority on Saxon times as the Lord Bishop of the Diocese. The camp is three miles beyond Pucklechurch, at the top of Hinton Hill. It consists of a single mound and ditch, terminating at each end on the steep escarpment of the lower Oolite, and enclosing about eighteen acres. To the south of the road, which is a modern one, the bank is perfect, but on the northern side it has been ploughed down, though the ditch can still be traced. Under the year 577 the Saxon Chronicle relates that Cuthwine and Ceawlin fought with the Brettas (Bryttas, Brittas) at the place called Deorham, and killed three kings—Commail (Conmægl, Commagil, Coinmagil) and Condidan (Candidan) and Farinmail (Farinmægl, Farinmagil)—and took three cities (ceastra)—Gleawanceaster (Gleawceaster, Gleawcestre, Glawiciestre) and

[1] See *Transactions*, xxiii. 69.

Cirencester (Cyrenceaster, Cirenciestre) and Bathanceaster (Bathenceaster). The first name in each case is that given in the earliest MS. of the Chronicle, written in 891; the names in parentheses show the variations in the next five MSS. in order of date. The name of the place of the battle is spelled Deorham in all six MSS.

The LORD BISHOP OF BRISTOL gave an address on the battle at the camp. He had not been to the camp previously, and therefore he could not profess to tell them all about it, but it seemed to him that it was very important that they should understand from what part the West Saxons were coming. The date of the battle, of course, was the year 577. In 568 Silchester was taken by the West Saxons, who were then able to push on towards the north, and they at once did so. Ethelbert, the King of Kent, a very young man, had determined to push his territories up the waters of the Thames, and as the West Saxons advanced they met Ethelbert, and the two forces fought at Wimbledon. Ethelbert was driven back into the Kingdom of Kent, and the West Saxons were able to push up against the Brettas in the direction of the Midlands. They went, and in 571, three years after the fall of Silchester, they fought a great battle at Bedford against the Brettas, and then there came the event which Mr. Green described as the conquest of the confederation of the four towns. He himself was a bit suspicious of this confederation of the four towns, now known as Eynsham, Bensington, Aylesbury, and Lenborough. There was no doubt the West Saxons desired to extend their sovereignty into the head waters of the Thames, and thus enter upon the possession of the Severn Valley and also the Severn. The question was how they came to be at Deorham. His own belief was that the account in the Chronicle was very decidedly telescoped, and they were misled by the fact that three kings were killed on that site, and that three cities were taken, as though the two events were absolutely connected with the other. His impression was that that described the whole campaign. The West Saxons had pushed on to the head waters of the Thames, between Cirencester and Malmesbury. They could not get down by Malmesbury, because Selwood as a whole was in the occupation of the Britons, and remained so for a long time afterwards, so they kept to the north of Cricklade, and took Cirencester on their way to their great objective—the city of Bath. He supposed when they found themselves at Deorham they had in their rear the Gloucester forces, and in their front the Bath forces. It was quite conceivable to his mind that, being a large force, they did not march rapidly. They had time to hastily excavate the ditch, and they threw up that segment of a circle to complete the defences. He believed that could be accomplished during the time the forces of the Britons were gathering for attack, and that was, he thought, the whole history. The question was, What happened after

that? He was quite sure that they proceeded to Bath and took it. Whether they doubled back and took Gloucester he did not know, but he thought it was probable. A great deal of history turned upon their future steps.

Having dealt with the defeat of the other West Saxons, who pushed on as far as Nantwich, his lordship pointed out that the Hwiccas became a separate kingdom until they were vanquished in 628, at Cirencester, by that tremendous pagan, King Penda, and became part of Mercia. They remained Mercians until much later, when the Bath district once more went to the West Saxons.

He believed that that very Battle of Deorham was the indirect cause of the great fame of Malmesbury. He found that there was a British king named Constantine who fled from his British kingdom and went to be a monk in Ireland, and eventually became, in 588, eleven years after the battle, vice-abbot in the monastery of Rahan, in Meath. Fifty years after that, between 632 and 634, Carthach was driven from Rahan into Munster, and there founded the great monastery of Lismore. Maildubh, in 637, came to Malmesbury. He (the bishop) had not the slightest doubt that Constantine was one of the kings who was not killed, and fled after the battle to Ireland, and made himself a monk under Carthach, and that Constantine was always talking about the great defeat of his people, and stating that the Britons still held their greatest fortress at Malmesbury, in the Selwood Forest, and they were at peace with the people who defeated them. Maildubh fled from Ireland and went to Malmesbury, where he founded the great school which produced Aldhelm. His lordship pointed out the interesting fact that Malmesbury and its defences were precisely similar to Bristol and its defences. One of the great water defences was the Avon, and that was the same both at Malmesbury and Bristol, and both were pear-shaped, the Newnton water flowing round the other side of Malmesbury and joining the Avon just as the Frome did at Bristol. He had set up a number of Aunt Sallies for cockshies, and, if he could judge from the smile on the president's face, Mr. Taylor would be the first to take a shy at the cocoanut. If Mr. Taylor failed to hit, he (the bishop) claimed the cocoanut.

The PRESIDENT said he had no remarks at all to make, except absolute acquiescence. Mr. F. F. Fox had told them that he knew the time when archæological people did not agree on a single point from the time they started till the time they got home again, and he was not going to show them the way in which the Battle of Dyrham had been fought—and lost. Wherever the Saxons came from, when they were there they cut off the road from Gloucester to Bath, and only four miles over the hill was the Fosse from Bath to Cirencester, so they had made a definite split between Bath and the other two towns. That was one of the decisive battles in

history, for it cut the Britons into halves, and by that battle the Saxons forced their way to the western sea. In conclusion, he thanked the Bishop for joining them that day and giving them such an interesting address.

Professor OMAN (Oxford) said he understood that the camp was one established by the Britons, and that it was the Saxons who had captured it.

His Lordship said, as they would see by the notes, that that was a view he had held a week ago, when he had never seen the place; he had been converted on the spot. The rampart seemed to him to be a merely *ad hoc* affair, not well built, and so late as to have been neglected at once. The bank appeared to be only loosely thrown together, with the result that the ditch was much more completely filled up than it would have been in the case of the carefully-constructed earthworks of an earlier age.

The Bishop's theory that Cirencester was the first of the Chesters to be captured is probably not the one that has commonly been held locally, where it has usually been thought that the first attack was made on Bath. But there is a good deal to be said in favour of the new theory. Assuming that Egonesham, captured by the Saxons in 571, is Eynsham, they had penetrated to the north of Cirencester six years before the Battle of Dyrham, and the Akeman Street running south-west towards Cirencester passes to the south of Stonesfield within about four miles of Eynsham. A march on Cirencester along the Akeman Street would be a very natural line of attack. Assuming that Cirencester was captured and that the next attack was to be made on Bath, rapid marching was essential, because it was necessary that, if possible, Bath should be captured before aid could arrive from Gloucester, Bath is about thirty miles distant from Cirencester along the Fosse, and about thirty-five miles from Gloucester along the Ridgeway, while a messenger from Cirencester to Gloucester would have to traverse seventeen miles of the Ermine Street. If the Saxons could not take Bath before help arrived they would have to fight in the open country, and it seems that they were compelled to do this. Their position was chosen with great skill; they retreated to the edge of the Oolite escarpment, and threw up an entrenchment enclosing such an area as suited them. Their rear was safe, for below them was the forest of Horwood (filthy wood, O.E. *horu*, filth) on the swampy lias clay; they could only be attacked in front over their entrenchments, and no reinforcements could pass along the Ridgeway to Bath without the risk of an attack in flank, because that road was less than half a mile from them. The position would be much the same if Cirencester had not been taken, for the Fosse, which runs from Bath to Cirencester, is only about four and a half miles from the camp—within easy striking distance. There is this much, however, to be said in favour of the view that Cirencester was first attacked and captured, that it was

evidently much more completely desolated than either of the other two towns, though there is reason for thinking that both Bath and Gloucester lay desolate for some time after their capture. When they were reoccupied the buildings were set out on the lines of the ancient ways, as they are now. But at Cirencester the streets are for the most part not at all on the lines of the Roman ways. The place evidently lay desolate for so long, that when it was reoccupied nothing was to be gained by following the lines of the old streets, even if they could be traced. This is only given for what it may be worth, for Penda fought what seems to have been a victorious fight at Cirencester in 628, and a desolation at his hand would have been more than a sufficiently sweeping one. It does not of course follow, however, that the site of Cirencester had been reoccupied by 628, because a battle was fought there in that year. Bath and Gloucester appear as the sites of churches in 676 and 680; but nothing is heard of Cirencester as an abode of living men till the reign of Egbert, when a minster was founded there. It would be quite likely that the first town to be attacked, where very probably the resistance would be more determined, would be more severely dealt with than those which were attacked later in the campaign. Nothing is known about the actual circumstances of the Battle of Dyrham, except that it may be taken as certain that the camp was occupied by Saxons. There could be no reason why the Britons should leave their chesters and fight in the open country.

Leaving the camp, the party passed along the Ridgeway to Cold Ashton. According to Rudder, "Sir Robert Atkyns's derivation of the name from the ash trees growing here is not founded on fact. The place is not remarkable for that kind of tree, nor indeed is *Ashton* the proper name of it. The true and significant name is *Easton* or *Aston*. In Domesday Book it is written *Escetone*. It was so called from its situation in the Hundred of Pucklechurch, being the most easterly village in that hundred. The prenomen *Cold* was given it on account of its exposed situation and to distinguish it from Easton near Bristol, and another Easton in the neighbourhood of Bath. This manor," he says, "with the manor of Tatwick, and several woods in Hameswell, Tatwick, and Cold Ashton, and the advowson of the church, were granted, after the dissolution of the Abbey of Bath, to Sir Walter Dennis": and William Pepwall, Alderman and twice Mayor of Bristol, by his will, February 1st, 1571, left "to son Michael and his heirs the manors, lands, tenements, etc., at Coldashton, Hamestwell, and Tatwicke, purchased of Sir Walter Dennis, Knt., deceased, and Richard Dennis, Esq."

These manors passed to his son, John Pepwell, who eventually sold them to John Gunning, who also was an Alderman and Mayor (1627) of Bristol.

By marriage, in 1658, the property passed to the Langton family, the present representative, Earl Temple, still owning the Manor House.

Cold Ashton, together with Priston to the south of Bath, was given by King Athelstan to the church of Bath in 931 under somewhat strange circumstances. After the death of his father Edward, a certain Alfred strove to blind him at Winchester, with the obvious intention of making him incapable of succeeding to the crown. Alfred, who may have been in Holy Orders, was sent to Rome to purge himself by oath before Pope John X., and on taking an oath before the altar in the Basilica of St. Peter, he fell to the ground. His friends carried him to the English school immediately to the east of St. Peter's, where on the third night he died. With the consent of the king he was buried in consecrated ground, and Athelstan felt that nothing could be more right than that he should give these estates to God and St. Peter, who had laid his enemy low and had kept him safe.[1] An identical charter (except for the names of the places granted) bestows land at Somerford, Norton, and Ewelme on the church of St. Peter at Malmesbury.[2] There seems to be no reason for doubting the truth of the narrative, which is interesting in several ways, constitutionally and otherwise.

Though not by any means one of the largest of Cotswold houses, Cold Ashton Manor House is a typical Cotswold residence, and is most interesting. It was probably erected by John Gunning, and is a delightful specimen of the Jacobean period, with much Renaissance feeling.

The house is approached by semi-circular steps through a massive gateway, still seen in its original state. Note the arms of the Gunning family over the arch and the vases of fruit at the sides. Notice, too, the rising steps as you approach the house, which was built upon the E plan. It is finely gabled, and possesses some characteristic chimney groups. The entrance is most striking, and the balustrading over is singularly effective. The windows are excellent, and very unusual is the fancy lead edging to the wooden water shutes, which are carried nearly round the dwelling. The original carved oak doorway, with its old ironwork, and the panelled hall are worthy of inspection. In the south-west room is a finely-moulded ceiling, with cherub, mask head and scroll ornamentation; also a typical stone chimney-piece. The corresponding room on the east side retains its original oak panelling and carved overmantel, with portions of the original ceiling, decorated with pomegranates and a narrow fruit border. The house contains many other features of minor interest, and the small castellated porch on the north side is very quaint.

The rector (the Rev. E. H. C. Sayres) very kindly met the party at the parish church. The original building, dedicated to the Holy Trinity,

[1] K., *C. D.*, cccliv.; *C. S.*, 670 [2] K., *C. D.*, ccclv.; *C. S.*, 671.

was probably thirteenth century, but it consists now principally of Perpendicular work. There is a low tower at the west end in three stages, with battlements and pinnacles, and an aisle on the south side. The chancel, which has no east window, has a high roof in contrast with a low nave. The greater part of the present structure was built by Thomas Keys, rector, about 1500: his rebus, a 𝔗 and a key, may be found in many places upon the building. It will be noticed on the south porch and south side on entering; and upon the north wall of the chancel may be seen a plain brass testifying to the rector's munificence, with his monogram in stone above. The opening in the north wall shows the rood-loft stairs, and it also is the approach to the stone niche for pulpit,[1] which has a carved oak extension of "Late Perpendicular" style, bearing some traces of colour; but the base and canopy are of stone.

The illustration given is taken from Markland's *Remarks on English Churches*, published in 1843. It will be noticed that the crocketed canopy has since been added, covering a monumental inscription. This was done in 1853 by a former rector.

A plain squint may be seen in the south wall of the chancel, pointing to the north side of the altar. There were formerly four bells, but two were sold early in the last century!

Members were shown the plate, which includes a pre-Reformation paten.

The rectory is historic from the fact that in this house—in the present dining-room—the brave Sir Bevil Grenville died from mortal injuries received at the Battle of Lansdown.

The house was built about the same time as the church by Thomas Keys. The date 1509 formerly existed upon a stone corbel now on the north side (formerly on the south). Very little of interest remains, as the house was "much modernised" in 1852.

The ride to Marshfield was regarded with special gratification, as the morning's engagements had caused the keen demands of appetite to exert their influence, and at the old Assembly Room, Marshfield, luncheon was laid. When the Society planned to include Marshfield in the excursion it was pointed out that no place in the town was capable of accommodating such a large party at a meal. What had been of yore the Assembly Room was in a dilapidated state, but in order that the Society should have luncheon in the town, it was resolved to effect a restoration of the spacious apartment, which has been so satisfactorily carried out that there is now in the place a capital room for holding meetings and having entertainments.

Marshfield Church, a fine structure, comprising capacious nave and side aisles, unfortunately came within the wave of "beneficent restoration" in 1860, and afforded an excellent piece of work for the destroyer, being

1 The example at Weston-in-Gordano is somewhat similar.

completely flayed internally. The fabric was originally of the Decorated period, probably of the latter part of the thirteenth century. There is a lofty tower at the west end with open battlements and crocketed pinnacles.

In consequence of the "wholesale restoration" referred to, it may be interesting to give Sir Stephen Glynne's crisp notes on the fabric made prior to that time:—

"The nave is separated from each aisle by three handsome Pointed arches; the piers have four shafts with hollows between them. The nave has clerestory windows of three lights, which are not continued in the chancel. The chancel is about equal in length to the nave, and extends considerably to the east of its aisles, to each of which it opens by two arches resembling those of the nave. On the north side of the entrance to the chancel is a turret with steps which once led to the rood-loft. The windows are chiefly of three lights, and some have embattled transoms. In the south aisle is one very large one of five lights, set in a kind of bay or projection. The north aisle is much wider than the south, and has its east window of three lights; there are other windows in the north aisle with square heads. There is a window north and south of the end of the chancel, which, as well as the eastern, is of three lights.

"On the south side are equal sedilia, with ogee arches crocketed, rising from shafts crowned by crocketed pinnacles, also an ogee niche surmounted by a label containing a stone shelf and an octagonal basin or piscina rising on a shaft.

"At the east end of the south aisle is an ogee niche with label over it and a shaft; also a small plain arch with piscina."

Two chantries formerly existed here, the Jesus and St. Clement's, but no traces remain. It is just possible that the three exquisitely-carved marble figures now built into the wall of one of the rooms at the "Angel Inn" (which were inspected by kind permission of Mr. Strange) were connected with one of these.

It is an interesting fact that not only were several Bristol merchants and their wives buried at this church, but that they each left benefactions to the parish. Amongst these donors may be mentioned the names of Bearpacker, Viner, and Gibbes.

After lunch the party assembled at the church, where they were welcomed by Canon E. Fiennes Trotman, the rector. On going round the interior the visitors saw a mace belonging to the high bailiff and feoffees in the time of Charles I., a pair of old scales formerly used in weighing loaves for the bread doles, a number of silver vessels of considerable value, and an Elizabethan chalice of great beauty.

Canon TROTMAN read the following very interesting paper on the history of the church:—

In complying with the request of your secretary that I would give some

account of this church, I have undertaken a difficult task—first, because I am no expert either in history or archæology; and, secondly, because here, as in the case of so many country churches, no records have been handed down of the various changes which in the past have overtaken the building. We are driven to draw questionable inferences from the parish registers, perhaps, or from an old churchwardens' book; or it may be that the walls tell their own tale to the archæologist. Marshfield, let me say, is a very ancient place, and its name has undergone an unfortunate and not very suitable change. Situated as it is, marshes are conspicuous by their absence. From Mr. Earle, Professor of Anglo-Saxon at Oxford, late of Swainswick, I gathered that the original name was "March-feldt," and that it was so called probably from its situation on this ridge, which was a boundary-line between the Saxon kingdoms of Wessex and Mercia. It was early dominated by ecclesiastical corporations. The manor, classed in Domesday Book under the Crown Lands, was given by William I. to the Bishopric of Wells. In 1106 it passed to Bath Abbey, and afterwards —in 1170—became the property of Keynsham Abbey, and belonged to them till the dissolution of the monasteries, and then passed into private hands. Meanwhile, the church, with tithe and pastoral care of the parish, belonged to Tewkesbury Abbey. Indeed, in the Bristol Museum may be seen an ancient deed, whereby Simon, Bishop of Worcester, about the year 1125, confirmed to the Abbey of Tewkesbury various grants of churches, tithes, and ecclesiastical benefices, given by Robert FitzHamon to that monastery, and amongst the churches herein mentioned is Marshfield Church. In those days Marshfield did not enjoy the privilege of being overlooked by a Bishop of Bristol, but the eye of the Bishop of Worcester had to traverse the whole length of the county of Gloucester to this remote corner, to keep the clergy in order. This apparently he did with some effect, for it is recorded in the Tewkesbury Annals that, in 1228, "hearing of the death of the parson of Marshfield, we, the Abbot of Tewkesbury (acting by the authority of the rights given us by the Church), set out for that place; and, without opposition at the time, took possession on March 21st, the second Sunday in Lent. Afterwards, however, we endured much trouble at the hands of the Bishop of Worcester, William of Blois, because he desired to call in question the aforesaid right." In the same Annals is recorded that in 1229 "the Bishop of Worcester, on the 8th of May, held a Synod at Worcester, and there withdrew the interdict pronounced against the church at Marshfield, at the request of Berard, vicar of that church, by means of his Proctor the Abbot." From the same Annals we learn that, in 1242, on June 1st, Walter de Cantelupe, Bishop of Worcester, dedicated the church at Marshfield. The question is, what church? Was it this church, or a part of this church, afterwards enlarged? At that date probably the greater part of the inhabitants dwelt

at West-town, now represented only by an old farmhouse, with cottage attached. There, it would appear, was a church of St. Pancras, still marked by a field called "St. Pancras's Close," and in it a well known as "St. Pancras's Well." All traces of the church have disappeared

After the dissolution of monasteries, the advowson of this benefice, with rectorial tithe, was conferred by Queen Mary on the Warden and Fellows of New College, Oxford, in lieu of property of which they had been robbed by Henry VIII. The first incumbent appointed to their newly-acquired living was John Oglander (a member of the ancient family of Nunwell, in the Isle of Wight). He came into residence in 1642, and retired in 1645, unable to continue his ministrations under the Commonwealth. I wish I knew, or could at all surmise, what was the condition and appearance of this church when he was instituted. One thing is certain, that there were then two Chantries of Jesus and St. Clement, the last two incumbents of which, Henry Nealye and Robert Savage, were pensioned off with the magnificent income of £1 10s. a year. A piscina at the east end of the north aisle is all that remains of St. Clement's Chantry; and behind the screen, with which my predecessor made for himself a small robing-room at the east end of the south aisle, may be seen all that remains of Jesus Chantry, together with the evidence of a priest's door in the south wall of that aisle. The gallery over the robing-room was inserted also by my predecessor for the accommodation of the choir. We have found it the most convenient place for the organ. I need scarcely say how much I wish that the chantry had not been interfered with—that it had been left as a side chapel in the present day. That the church has grown to its present dimensions by degrees there can be no doubt. I have sometimes wondered whether the wide north aisle, with its square-headed windows and its large east window, was the original church, to which the nave and south aisle were subsequently added. The marks of a roof on the west wall, much lower than the present roof, bespeak the insertion of clerestory windows, with a necessary raising of the tower. At the east end, again, you will observe how, at some date, the chancel was carried out to its present dimensions. You will notice, too, the large stones on either side of the east window of the chancel, with a rough filling up of stonework immediately under them. These stones evidently formed the canopies of two figures that stood there. When were they removed? When were those marble figures carried away and hidden which were recently discovered in the wall of the Angel Inn? Where are the missing two which made up the group? When was the rood-loft destroyed, the entrance to which you plainly see on the walls? When was the pretty little niche in the porch robbed of the figure of the Virgin, to whom the church is dedicated? Was it after the Battle of Lansdown—when the Parliamentary troops harassed the rear of the Royalists, who after the

battle had retired to their quarters at Marshfield, and thence retreated to Devizes? However that may have been, even they could scarcely have done more havoc with the church than the hand of the so-called restorer in 1860, who, whilst substituting the pitch-pine seats throughout the church for the old carefully-locked pews and capacious gallery, effaced at the same time much that would have been most interesting to us to-day—much that would have carried us back to days of perhaps greater reverence for holy things than those in which we live.

If time permitted, I could tell much that is interesting of the Goslett family, to which the manor passed from the Abbey of Keynsham. One of that family presented the mace (which I have put for your inspection) to the local Corporation of a high bailiff and feoffees. The mace is of the time of Charles I., and had the Goslett Arms at the base, which are now worn away. Another of the family, to whose memory there is a tablet beside the east window of the north aisle, distinguished himself as a magistrate by marrying ninety-two couples from all the neighbouring parishes during the Commonwealth, in some cases "tne banns having been called three successive market daies in the Market Place at Marshfield." Those registers are on view. His niece, Dionysia Long, to whom also there is a tablet near her uncle's, was a great benefactor to the poor of this parish, largely increased the value of the benefice, and presented some silver vessels of considerable value, but scarcely suitable to our present mode of administering the Sacrament of the Lord's Supper. These, too, you will have an opportunity of inspecting, together with an old Elizabethan chalice of great beauty.

The feoffees still survive, though the high bailiff has been extinguished; and they continue to administer the property of the almshouses, which you passed on entering the long street, and which were built and endowed by a family of the name of Crisp, who were a numerous clan in days gone by.

I wish we had more to show you of interest to your Society. Of one thing you are assured, and that is, that even if you have not gathered much information of an archæological character, at least you have derived nothing but health from the salubrious air of "Marchfeldt."

In my time the tower has been renovated outside and within—a new roof supplied, two of the pinnacles renewed, two of the six bells recast, and the peal rehung by Messrs. Llewellyn, of Bristol, in a cage for eight. The porch, which was in a dilapidated condition, has been restored, and a new piece added to the churchyard, which had been indecently buried in over and over again. The chancel has been cleared of rectorial and vicarial seats by the insertion of oak choir-stalls, and an attempt has been made to impart a more stately appearance to the church. The reredos was the gift at the same time of Mrs. Firth, of Ashwicke Hall.

On entering the town the picturesque almshouses were passed. They were founded by Elias Crispe, alderman of London, and consisted of a chapel with a spire in the middle and eight dwellings built in 1619. These are under the control of an old Corporation consisting of a high bailiff and nine feoffees.

Rudder says: "The town has a bailiff for its chief officer, chosen annually at the court-baron. He is attended occasionally by a serjeant-at-mace and other officers to examine the weights and measures." The Corporation still possess the mace—*temp.* Charles I.—and this as well as the church plate and the old registers were shown at our visit.

The group of buildings known as the "Home Farm" (to the north of the church), including an interesting culver house and a fine old barn, with quaint heads set in the east wall, was found to be well worth a visit.

Mr. F. Were took the following heraldic notes at Marshfield:—"This church contains a good deal of heraldry, but I think a catalogue will suffice. Bigland says: 1. '. . . a bend . . .' over monument to Elizabeth Codrington, d. of the Rev. Thomas, of Dodington, 1711. I think this means the augmentation coat, which is generally quartered with the true Codrington: 'Vert on a bend arg. 3 roses gu. in sinister chief a dexter hand couped of the second.' 2. VINER, 1748: 'Sa. (Rudder, az.) a bend or on a chief arg. 2 Cornish choughs ppr.' 3. MICHELL, 1779, impaling LEE or LEY, 1786. 4. In lozenge shield, LONG, impaling HARRINGTON, 1744. Dionysia, d. of John H., of Kelston, Som., and relict of Calthorp L. 5. GIBBES, impaling HARRINGTON, 1723. Elizabeth, eldest d. of John H., and relict of Henry G., of Bristol. 6. GOSTLETT, 1692. 7. Quarterly of WEBB: 'Or on a bend engr. gu. 3 crosses croslet fitchee arg.,' 1724, with 2 and 3, RICHMOND, *alias* WEBB: 'Arg. a cross patonce az. betw. 4 mullets gu.,' and the same WEBB impaling RICHMOND. Nicholas W. married Anne W., of Wotton Underedge. 8. Three shields over BEARPACKER, 1715. 1: Really, 'Az. a lion pass. betw. 3 crosses pattee fitchée arg., and a crest,' ? bear or ram; 2: ? REYNOLDS; 3: ? DOBYNS. 9. 'Arg. a chev. or,' 1733. This is false. Query, 'Sa. a chev. arg.,' for Feek. 10. On atchievement, WILLIS, 1789. 11. MEREDETH, 1641.

The drive was continued in the afternoon to Hamswell House, where the members were received by Major Augustus T. Baker, the occupier. Hamswell stands close to the field of the Battle of Lansdown, fought on July 5th, 1643. The Royalist army, under Sir Ralph Hopton, was drawn up on Togg Hill facing their opponents, who occupied the ridge of Lansdown to the south. The fight began with an attack by the Parliamentary Horse on the Royalists in Cold Ashton, which was easily repulsed. Then along the line of the road by which we passed from the London Road to Hamswell, the Cornishmen, under Sir Bevil Grenville, charged down the

northern slope and up to Lansdown, repulsing no fewer than five charges made downhill by the Parliamentary cavalry against them, and winning the breastwork on the summit of the hill, only to find that the guns, which were the object of the attack, had been removed and were again in position behind a stone wall. Not more than 600 out of 2,000 Royalist cavalry survived. Sir Bevil Grenville was wounded, and died in the Rectory House at Cold Ashton. That night Sir William Waller withdrew his troops to Bath. The next day the Royalists began a retreat—which was little better than a rout—to Devizes.

"Hameswell is a hamlet in the parish of Cold Ashton, formerly belonging to the prior of Bath . . . . It was afterwards the property of the Pipwells, and is now the seat of Mr. Whittington, who has a good house there." So wrote Rudder a century and a quarter ago. It was apparently never a large house; much of its seventeenth-century character has been removed, but enough remains to show how delightful in style it was originally.

The weathered entrance porch facing north-east is now its chief attraction, noteworthy for the effective columns, the interrupted pediment, and the excellent setting of the shield of arms.

Worthy of notice, too, are the quaint shell-pattern niches at the angles, and the stone-mullioned windows over. On the south-east side there is an interesting door head with lion brackets.

The interior claims little of note: a carved chimney-piece with column supports in the hall, bearing the date 1664; a late Jacobean staircase, as well as a "secret" chamber or two.

Mr. Were gives the following description of the Hamswell House heraldry:—"After inspection of the Hamswell House porch shield I send these few notes for the *Transactions*. From a study of the masonry surrounding the shield, I should say that it was let into the wall after the porch was built, and though no doubt the whole was erected by a Whittington, this could not have been done till somewhere about 1608, as, according to Rudder, the Pipwells were then lords of it. The form of the shield proves that it also was about that date. It consists of an oval shield with scroll mantling, and is not an achievement with helmet, wreath, and crest. It bears a plain field (which tends to show that it was intended to be painted, when it would be gules) with the chequy fess of the Whittingtons, impaling a plain field and plain chevron. This proves a Whittington marriage, but there is none known of that date with a family bearing a plain chevron. This suggests that it was intended for internal decoration, and may indeed have occupied when painted another site, all which paint was removed or has perished when and since it occupied its present position. In *Glos. Vis.*, 1623, p. 178, Robert is stated to be of Cold Ashton, being grandson of Robert Whittington, of St. Briavels, so it looks

as if they were in the parish before being resident at Hamswell. His son John is of Hamswell, and he married Anne Chamber, of Marshfield, who if she had any arms might have borne, 'Argent a chevron between three cinquefoils gules,' in which case the cinquefoils would have to be added, and the chevron, both painted gules; but I think the last pair's son William is the most likely to be the marriage intended, as he married Joyce, daughter of William Blanchard, of Batheston, who bore for their coat, 'Gules a chevron or between in chief two bezants and in base a griffin's head erased of the second;" here there would be the bezants and the griffin's head as well as the chevron to be gilded. It was suggested that it might be the Milborne coat, which is 'Gules a chevron ermine between three escallops argent,' but this marriage was earlier than the shield would say, and that Whittington was of the Pauntley stock. I could find no place in the house where it could originally have been placed, and can but conclude that it was intended for a panel of a sarcophagus tomb, or for a mural monument in the church which was never erected, and so placed here instead."

Of exquisite charm is the position of the old house. The Lansdown ridge as well as the Westbury White Horse can be seen from the upper of the two long raised terraces, from whence you descend by an old stone stairway to a long canal or fishpond.

This property is still in the possession of a collateral branch of the Whittingtons[1] of Pauntley (near Newent), one of whose ancestors was the famous Sir Richard Whittington, three times Lord Mayor of London, and it is now occupied by a descendant of that family.

The last place visited was Wick Court, where the members were entertained at afternoon tea by Mr. and Mrs. F. C. Constable. A ramble around this delightful Elizabethan house was much enjoyed, Mr. and Mrs. Constable making charming hosts, and showing the visitors the treasures of the house, prominent among which are the splendid examples of oak panelling and a unique carved-oak staircase. Before leaving Mr. F. F. TUCKETT, on behalf of the members, thanked Mr. J. E. Pritchard, the hon. secretary for Bristol, for the admirable way in which he had carried through the arrangements of the meeting; and Mr. F. F. Fox thanked Mr. and Mrs. Constable for their hospitality.

Rudder tells us that at the time of Domesday the manor of Pucklechurch, Abson and Wick was held by the Abbey of Glastonbury. "But when King Richard the First was prisoner at Vienna, the Emperor Leopold obliged him to annex that abbey to the See of Bath and Wells, and to give that bishoprick to Savaricus, the emperor's kinsman. And in the year 1205 the monks of Glastonbury quitted their right in the manors of Pucklechurch, Ashton and Westerleigh, and in the patronage of several churches,

1 Lysons (Samuel), *Model Merchant*, 1860. See p. 12 and pedigree.

to that bishoprick, upon condition that Joceline, the bishop, would restore to them the election of their own abbot."

It was held by that See for over two hundred and fifty years, and eventually passed to the Wintour family. "Sir Edward Wintour was lord of this manor in the year 1608. Sir John Wintour, son of Sir Edward, granted it away 1632–3, and by divers mesne conveyances it was assigned to Mr. Thomas Haynes in the year 1665."

In Atkyn's *History of the County* a capital bird's-eye view of Wick Court is given. The date of the house is not known, but it was probably built late in the Elizabethan period. It is still very much in its original state; but the boundary walls have been slightly altered since then, and the residence has been roofed with tiles instead of stone. See two patches of the original stone roof in the front. The south or front elevation is most effective, though exceeding simple in style, with its excellent stone-capped gables and deep stone-mullioned windows; the stone balls capping the pinnacles are recent additions. The north side is equally interesting.

As to the interior, the carved-oak staircase is a typical example of the Elizabethan period, but the lower part has been altered. There are several panelled-oak rooms and carved-oak doorways of great interest, and in the "withdrawing"-room may be seen a veritable "priest's hole," which had communication with the room below. The kitchen possesses an original "spit-wheel" in a niche at the side of the fireplace.

During the Roman occupation of England the direct route between Bath and the Severn probably passed through this parish. At all events, considerable Roman remains have been found here from time to time, but no careful record was ever made. In an arable field called the "Chissels," not far from the Court, two out of four upright stones still remain. They are illustrated in Seyer's *History of Bristol*, vol. i., p. 101, but as to their origin nothing is known.

Soon after passing Warmley Station we entered the district of Kingswood. Until 1752 there was no parish church between St. Philip's Church, in Bristol, and Bitton Church, six miles away. After the disafforestation of 1227 the land had been gradually portioned out among neighbouring landowners, and a population of several thousands had grown up, a large proportion being very ignorant and lawless. Bishop Butler had recommended the erection of a church before his translation to Durham in 1750, and in 1752 the church of St. George was consecrated; the present building was erected after a fire in 1878. Whitefield preached his first field sermon at Rose Green, half a mile north of the church, on February 17th, 1739, and John Wesley followed his example in the same district on April 2nd following.

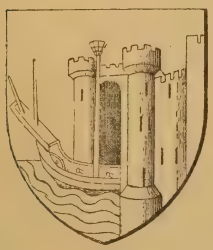
The drive home in the cool of the evening was pleasant, and the observance of the same punctuality which had marked the whole of

the programme enabled the visitors to arrive in Bristol in time to catch their trains to various parts of the country. Thus ended one of the most successful meetings in the history of the Society.

Our thanks are due to the Lord Bishop of Bristol, the Rev. C. S. Taylor, Miss I. M. Roper, Mr. C. F. W. Dening, Mr. G. H. Oatley, and Mr. F. Were for valuable notes in the programme; to Professor Fawcett for his beautiful photographs of Chelvey; to Mr. W. Moline for others of Clapton and Weston-in-Gordano, showing, as usual, great architectural detail; and not least to Mr. Guy Chilton for specially travelling over a good part of the Somerset and Gloucestershire routes, and preparing the excellent series of views recorded in his name. But most of all were the thanks of the members due to Mr. J. E. Pritchard, Honorary Secretary for Bristol, who had not only made all arrangements for the meeting and had drawn up the programme, but who also carried through the proceedings of the meeting with a smoothness and efficiency which contributed very much indeed to the enjoyment of the members.

Bristol & Gloucestershire Archæological Society.

Bristol Meeting, 1906.



EXHIBITION

OF

OLD BRISTOL PLANS,

BRISTOL COINAGE,

ANTIQUITIES,

&c.,

At the CONVERSAZIONE on July 17th.

This is the first occasion on which such a complete collection of Plans has been chronicled and brought together, amongst which are several of great rarity.

Compiled by JOHN E. PRITCHARD, F.S.A., Hon. Sec. for Bristol.

Old Bristol Plans.

1479. Ricart, [Robert]. **Bristollia.** Coloured facsimile plan of the city, from the original in the Mayor's Kalendar, at the Council House, compiled by Robert Ricart, Town Clerk, 18 Edward IV. [J. E. P.]

1568. Smith, [W.]. **Bristow.** Coloured facsimile from original plan in the "Sloane" collection, British Museum. The earliest measured plan of the city. [J. E. P.]

1581. Hoefnagle, [George]. **Brightstowe.** From Braun's *Civitates Orbis Terrarum* (3rd vol.), Cologne, 1581. The earliest published plan of the city. [H. G. K.]

Ditto. Contemporary colouring. [H. G. K.]

Janssen, [Jan]. A similar plan, from *Theatrum Orbis Terrarum*, Amsterdam, *C.* 1656. Evidently copied from Hoefnagle. [H. G. K.]

Ditto. Contemporary colouring. [H. G. K.]

C. 1590. Valezo, [Fr°]. **Brightstowe.** "The most flourishing mart of England." A small signed plan. Francesco Valescio, or Valezo, engraver, was born at Bologna, 1560. [J. E. P.]

C. 1600. Hondius, [I.]. **Bristolia—Bristow.** A small unsigned plan, probably the work of Iodocus Hondius, who was born at Ghent 1563, but came to England *c.* 1583. He was the engraver of several of Speede's maps. [J. E. P.]

1610. Speede, [John]. **Bristow.** A Plan of the city from Speede's Map of Glocestershire, engraved by I. Hondius or A. Goos. [J. E. P.]

1638. C. L. **Brightstowe in Engelland.** A small signed plan. "C. L.," an unknown engraver of the seventeenth century, signed the engravings to Meisner's *Sciagraphica Cosmica*, published at Nuremberg in 1638, which included this plan. [J. E. P.]

1642. Merian, [Matthias]. **Bristolia—Bristol.** Each name on a foliated scroll, with arms of city between. A small unsigned plan included in a topographical work, published at Frankfort in 1642. [W. E. G.]

1644. **Sketch of the Outworks of Bristol in 1644.** By Edm^d^ Turnor, F.A.S. Del^t^ 1801. [J. E. P.]

C. 1645. **Plan de Bristol.** In the British Museum is a MS. plan of the city, presumably by a French draughtsman, but it has no evidence of originality. [*Included here for reference.*]

1653. STAINRED, [PHILIP]. "About the close of this year the Corporation of Bristol directed one Philip Stainred, supposed to have been a land surveyor, to make a new plan of the city, and perhaps, amongst the numerous civic documents that have perished in the course of centuries, the loss of this work is the most to be regretted." Latimer's *Annals of Bristol, Seventeenth Century*, p. 248.
Tyson recorded the existence of this plan in 1823.

C. 1660. SAXTON, [C.]. **Brestoll.** Plan at top left-hand corner of Map of Glocester-Shire. [J. E. P.]

1671. MILLERD, [IACOBUS]. **An exact delineation of the famous Cittie of Bristoll and suburbs thereof.** Composed by a Scale and Ichnographically described by I. M., 1671. The first measured and published plan of the city. In contemporary colouring. [J. E. P.]

1673. MILLERD, [IACOBUS]. **An exact delineation of the famous Citty of Bristoll and Suburbs.** By Ia. Millerd. Twenty views in the margins. Printed in four sections. See Latimer's *Annals, Seventeenth Century*, p. 361. [W. E. G.]

C. 1673. MILLERD, [IACOBUS]. **The Citty of Bristoll:** a bird's-eye view from the south. By Iacobus Millerd de Bristoll (delin et sculpsit). "Sould by Iohn Overton in London, and by Tho. Wall, bookseller, in Bristoll." [L. M. G.]

1717. KIP, [T.]. **The City of Bristol.** A quaint view from the south. After H. Blundel. [S. T.]

C. 1720. NICHOLLS, [SUTTON]. A small bird's-eye view of Bristol. [C. H. C.]

1734. BUCK, [S. and N.]. **The North-West Prospect of the City of Bristol.** From Pile Hill. [J. O.]

1734. Ditto. **The South-East Prospect.** From Brandon Hill. [J. O.]

1742. ROCQUE, [JOHN]. **A Plan of the City of Bristol,** survey[d] and drawn by John Rocque: engrav'd by John Pine. Elevations of the Exchange in lower corners. Printed in four sections. [J. F. E.]

1746. WILSTAR, [I. I. D.]. **A Survey of the Manor of Clifton.** A MS. plan. See *Trans. B. & G. Arch. Soc.*, Vol. XXIII., p. 312.

1750. ROCQUE, [JOHN]. **A Survey of the City and Suburbs of Bristol,** survey'd by John Rocque, Land Surveyor, at Charing Cross, 1750. Ten views in side margins. This edition has the title also in French. [G. H. H.]

1751. ROQUE, [J.]. **A Plan of the City and Suburbs of Bristol,** by J. Roque, for B. Hickey, Bookseller in Bristol, 1751. Ten views in side margins. [*Included here for reference.*]

C. 1751. ROCQUE, [JOHN]. **A Geometrical Plan of the City and Suburbs of Bristol,** survey'd by John Rocque, Land Surveyor. Published by B. Hickey, Bookseller, in Nicolas Street. Ten views in side margins. [W. E. G.]

C. 1755. CHEEVERS, [J.]. **A small Plan of the City and Suburbs of Bristol.**
[*Included here for reference.*]

1759. ROQUE, [J.]. **A new Plan of the City and Suburbs of Bristol,** by J. Roque. Sold by J. Palmer, Bookseller in Bristol, 1759. Ten views in side margins. [J. E. P.]

C. 1760. LA CRUZ, [JUAN DE]. **Veue de Bristol.** A miniature bird's-eye view. [W. E. G.]

1769. DONN, [B.]. **A Map of the Country 11 miles round the City of Bristol.** With view of St. Vincent's Rocks, and Plan of Druidical Stones at Stanton Drew. A second edition was published in 1804. Engraved by R. Coffin. [H. M.]

1773. DONN, [BENJAMIN]. **A Plan of the City of Bristol,** delineated from actual survey. Second edition, 1778; third edition, 1782; fourth edition, 1784; fifth edition, 1791. [J. E. P.]

1775. DONNE, [H.]. **A Map of the Country eleven miles round the City of Bristol.** Abridged from the large map by H. Donne. Coloured. Engraved for, and published by, B. Donn. [J. F. E.]
Other editions, 1778, 1780, 1787.

1780. BENNING, [RICHARD]. **A Plan of Bristol.** Without inscription. Engraved for Barrett's *History*, but copied from Rocque. [J. F. E.]
The original copper plate is now in the Museum Collection.

1794. MATHEWS'S **New and Correct Plan of the City and Suburbs of Bristol.** [L. M. G.]
Other editions, 1797, 1815, 1819, 1825.

1799. EDWARDS, [R.]. **Plan of the City and Suburbs of Bristol.** Another edition 1801. [L. M. G.]

1800. DONNE, [B.]. **New and correct Plan of Bristol, Clifton, and the Hotwells.** June 1st, 1800. [J. F. E.]
Other editions, 1806, 1815, 1823, 1833.

1801. DONNE, [B.]. **Map of the Country twenty-one miles round the City of Bristol.** [J. E. P.]
Other editions, 1815, 1817, 1834.

1822. EVANS, [Rev. J.]. **A new Plan of Bristol, Clifton, and the Hot Wells,** with the recent additions and improvements. Drawn by J. F. Stansbury and engraved by Sid[y] Hall under the direction of the Rev. John Evans. Dedicated to the Mayor, James George, Esq. [J. E. P.]

Another edition was issued when Mr. George was again Mayor, 1836-7. [W. E. G.]

1826. DONNE, [B.]. **A Plan of Bristol, Clifton, the Hotwells, &c.** From an actual survey by B. Donne. "A view of Clifton and the Hotwells" at the top right-hand corner. Published Jan[ry] 23rd, 1826. [J. F. E.]

Another edition was issued in 1831. [J. E. P.]

1829. ASHMEAD, [G. C.] **Plan of Bristol and its Suburbs.** With arms of the City, the See, and the Society of Merchant Venturers. Scale, 200 ft. = 1 in. Size, 6 ft. 3 in. wide by 5 ft. 7 in. deep. [J. E. P.]

1833. ASHMEAD, [G. C.]. **Plan of Bristol and its Suburbs,** reduced from the original survey of the late J. Plumley, with additions by Geo. C. Ashmead. With tinted view of "Clifton and the Hot Wells," and the arms of the city. [J. F. E.]
Another edition was issued in 1882.

Old Maps of the County.

1577. SAXTON, [CHRISTOPHER]. **Glocestriæ.** Christofervs Saxton, Descripsit; Avgvstinvs Ryther, Anglvs Scvlpsit, An° Dni 1577. In contemporary colouring. The earliest map of the County. [J. F. E.]

NOTE.—To Christopher Saxton we are indebted for the earliest maps of the counties of England and Wales. He lived at Tingley, Yorkshire, and was servant to Thomas Sekeford, Esq., Master of Requests, and Master of the Court of Wards, at whose expense he published a complete set of the counties, many of which he engraved himself [1573-9]. They were dedicated to Queen Elizabeth, and adorned with the Royal Arms, and those of "Master Sekeford," and were published in 1579.

1610. SPEEDE, [JOHN]. **Glocestershire.** With plans of the Cities of Bristow and Glocester. Engraved by Hondius or Goos. [L. M. G.]

C. 1648. BLAEU, [A.]. **Glocestria Dvcatvs; Vulgo Glocestershire.** With Royal Arms of England, and Arms of the Earls and Dukes of Gloucester. Coloured. Published in Amsterdam. [J. E. P.]

C. 1650. JANSSEN, [JAN]. **Glocestria Dvcatvs, cum Monvmethensi Comitatu.** With arms of the Earls and Dukes of Gloucester. Coloured. Published in Amsterdam. [J. F. E.]

C. 1660. SAXTON, [CHRISTOPHER]. **Glocester-Shire.** Described by C. S. Corrected and Amended with many Additions by P. Lea. With plan of Brestoll at top left-hand corner and Glocester at bottom right-hand corner: also Eleven Shields of Arms of Earls and Dukes of Gloucester. [J. E. P.]

C. 1760. BOWEN, [EMAN.]. **The County of Gloucester,** divided into Hundreds. Coloured. With view of Cathedral Church of Gloucester. [J. E. P.]

1777. TAYLOR, [ISAAC]. **Map of the County of Gloucester,** comprising views of Berkeley Castle, St. Briavel's Castle, Beverstone Castle, Sudeley Castle, Thornbury Church and Castle. With arms of the Sees of Gloucester and Bristol. Published at Ross. [E. O. T.]

C. 1693. **The Severn or Channell of Bristoll.** (From actual survey by Capt. Greenvile Collins.) Dedicated to the Right Honourable Sr Robt Southwell, K^t^, who attended his Maj^ty^ K. William the 3rd in his Expedition for Ireland in Quality of Principall Secretary of State for that Kingdom. It bears the Southwell arms. [S. T.]

C. 1693. **The River Avon from the Severn to the Citty of Bristoll.** (From actual survey by Capt Greenvile Collins.) Dedicated to the Right Worshipfull Robert Yate, Esq., Mayor of Bristoll, and Master of the Merchants' Hall in that city. [S .T.]

XVIII. Century. The Road from London to the City of Bristol. By THOS. GARDNER. Containing 115 miles 2 furlongs. Dedicated to Sir Richard How, Bart., and William Helyar, Esq. [W. E. G.]

Antiquities.

PRE-HISTORIC PERIODS.

STONE AGE.

Paleolithic celt, found at Downham. [J.B.]

Two Paleolithic celts, found at Savernake. [J. E. P.]

A small selection of Neolithic weapons and implements found by exhibitor in the West of England. [J. E. P.]

BRONZE AGE.

Flat celt—neighbourhood of Aberdeen. [J. B.]

Five palstaves—found at Westbury-on-Trym (Glos.), 1885, Bath, Honiton, Raglan, and in Argyleshire. [J. E. P.]

Two socketed celts—Brigg. [J. E. P.]

Socketed celt—Ireland. [J. E. P.]

Spear-head—Raglan. [J. E. P.]

Tanged dagger—Blackenbury Camp, between Nibley and Wotton, 1903. [B. A. B.]

IRON AGE.

A collection of Objects, including bone needles, spindle whorls, whetstones, and horns showing signs of sawing, from Bristol excavations. [J. E. P.]

These form the *earliest* traces of man's occupation of the site of the old city.

See *Trans.*, vols. xxiii., xxvi., and xxvii.

BRITISH AND ROMANO-BRITISH PERIOD.

A Collection of Ancient British and Romano-British remains from Tyning and Kilmersdon Road Quarries at Radstock, Somerset.

Quern, upper stone, with handle modelled after a Silchester specimen.
Rubbing stone with rubber.
Whetstone of lias.
Nodules of iron ore and bits of charcoal. [J. MCM.]

Small collection of bronze implements, including fibulæ, tweezers, ear scoop, and armlet. [J. MCM.]

Samian and Pseudo-Samian pottery, including two complete vessels and parts of others. [J. MCM.]

Groups of other Romano-British pottery, including examples of Upchurch and Salopian. [J. MCM.]

Spindle whorls. [J. MCM.]

Specimens of ancient glass. [J. MCM.]

Collection of iron nails and other articles. [J. MCM.]

Worked flints. [J. MCM.]

Bones of various domestic and other animals, some split, others calcined, found in refuse pits with the foregoing remains:—
Horn cores, probably of the ox.
Deer horn.
Teeth of the horse, cow, sheep, pig, dog, hedgehog, etc.
Tusks of the boar. [J. MCM.]

Snail shells, plentiful throughout the deposit. [J. MCM.]

Photographs of Fosse Road taken during the excavations at Radstock. [J. MCM.]

ROMANO-BRITISH PERIOD.

Three bronze fibulæ, found in the district round Bristol. [J. E. P.]

Small sculptured head, probably an ornament of military dress, found at Sea Mills. [J. E. P.]

Three bronze keys. Two from Sea Mills and one from Cirencester. [J. E. P.]

MEDIÆVAL PERIOD AND LATER.

Green glazed stoneware jug, probably thirteenth century, found in pulling down an old house in Bristol in 1876.
The "stiff leaf" decoration, characteristic of this period, was considered by the late Sir Augustus Franks to be unique. [R. H. W.]

Stone corbel, found in making road in Lower College Green, fourteenth or fifteenth century. [R. H. W.]

Red pottery water pitcher, fourteenth century, found in an old Bristol well, 1900. [J. E. P.]

Mediæval Paving Tiles from the Abbey of St. Augustine, now Bristol Cathedral:—
Shield of Thomas, Lord Berkeley, 1281-1321.
Abbot John Newland, 1481-1515. "ffiat misericordia, tua domine super nos."
Shield of Abbot Robert Elyot, 1515-1526.
Initials of Abbot Elyot interlaced.
Tudor Rose (same period).
Shield of Berkeley Arms (same period).
Flemish tile in relief, sixteenth century. [R. H. W.]

Ivory draughtsman, twelfth century. Bristol excavation, 1897. [J. E. P.]

Ivory essence box or vinaigrette, with five glass phials, late sixteenth century. Bristol excavation, 1897. [J. E. P.]

Carved bone **head-dress pin**, probably fourteenth century. Bristol excavation, 1901. [J. E. P.]

Wood **head-dress comb**, probably twelfth century. Bristol excavation, 1905. [J. E. P.]

Small unconsecrated **pewter paten**, twelfth to fourteenth century. Bristol excavation, 1905. [J. E. P.]
It was customary in early mediæval times to place a chalice and paten with the body of a priest for burial. These vessels were of base metal and unconsecrated. They are rarely found.

Alphabet tablet of bone (or "horn book"). Bristol excavation, 1903. [J. E. P.]

Three seventeenth-century **pewter spoons**. Bristol excavation, 1905. [J. E. P.]

A fifteenth-century brass spoon, found in Bristol, 1900. [J. E. P.]

A seventeenth-century three-prong fork, found in Bristol, 1902. [J. E. P.]

Two seventeenth-century brass gaiter spurs, found in Bristol, 1903 and 1904. [J. E. P.]

A collection of various objects found at Quay Head and Host Street, 1902. [J. F. E.]

Mediæval silver finger ring, bearing a "merchant's mark," found on site of Bristol gaol. [E. J. S.]

Ecclesiastical silver finger ring. Bristol excavation, 1903. [J. E. P.]

A Collection of Coins of the Bristol Mint.

[J. R. B.]

ALL VERY RARE.

HAROLD I., 1035–1040. (Silver.)

Penny. *Obv.* Bust of King to left holding Sceptre ✠ HAROLD REX. *Rev.* PVLPIINE (NE joined) ON (joined) BRIC. Cross voided. A flower in each angle issuing from a central compartment.

WILLIAM I., 1066–1087 (or William II.).

Penny. *Obv.* Bust of King, full-faced, holding sceptre ✠ PILLEM REX. *Rev.* COLBLIC ON BRIC. Cross pattée with the word PAXS in the angles, each letter enclosed in a circle.

Penny. Same. A second specimen as last.

Penny. Same. *Rev.* BRITPORD ON BRI.

EDWARD I., 1272–1307.

Penny. *Obv.* Bust of King, full-face crowned ✠ EDW. R. ANG. DNS HYB. *Rev.* VILLA BRISTOLLIE. (Three specimens.)

Penny. Same variety.

Penny. Same, but *Rev.* reads "VILL," &c.

Halfpenny. Same type as Pennies, "VILLA."

Farthing. Same as Pennies. *Obv.* ✠ E. R. ANGLIE. *Rev.* VILLA BRISTOLLIE.

EDWARD IV, 1461–1483. (Gold.)

Rose Noble. *Obv.* King full-faced, crowned, in right hand sword, on left arm a shield of arms France and England quarterly. He stands in ship, rose on side, flag bearing large E. (B for Bristol on waves.) EDWARD REX ANGL ⚡ FRANC DNS I B (for HIB). (Trefoils between words including letters I B). *Rev.* In the centre of a cusped circle a rose upon a large sun, surrounded by 4 lions with crowns over them, alternately with 4 fleurs-de-lis over the ends of a cross fleury (connected with the sun's rays.. Mm. a crown. IHC AVT TRANSIENS PER MEDIVM ILLORVM I BAT. Single trefoils after the 1st and 2nd words and between the I and BAT; double trefoils after ILLORVM; dot after A in TRANSIENS. Weight 120 grains.

Another. Mm. a crown. Weight 120 grains.

Another. Mm. a cinquefoil.

EDWARD IV. (Silver.) [J. R. B.]

(1) Groats (light.) *Obv.* King crowned. Mm. Sun. EDWARD DI GRA REX ANGL N FRANC; quatrefoil each side of neck. B on the King's breast. *Rev.* VILLA × BRISTOLL. Weight 52 grains.

(2) As last, but with × after "Franc."

(3) Reading "BRESTOLL."

(4) Omitting B on breast, instead of which the arch is *fleured*. Unpublished. Very rare.

(5) As the last (without B on breast, but reading BRISTOVV. Very rare).

(6) Reading BRISTOVV.

(7) Mm. a crown. *Obv.* Quatrefoil each side of neck. B on breast. *Rev.* BRISTOLL. 2 Saltires in inner legend.

(8) As last, but 1 Saltire only in inner legend of *Rev.*

(9) As last, but without any Saltires in inner legend.

(10) *Obv.* as before, but with double Saltires after FRANC. B on breast. *Rev.* VILLA BRISTOVV.

(11) *Obv.* as before, without the Saltires after FRANC.

(12) *Obv.* as before, "FRAN"; trefoil after VIL and before B on *Rev.*

(13) *Obv.* as before, an annulet after FRAN.

(14) *Obv.* as before; FRANC; *Rev.* trefoils in inner legends as before.

(15) *Obv.* as before; FRANCE; words divided by Saltires. *Rev.* VILLA × BRESTOLL

(16) *Obv.* (only) Mm. Rose and Sun. united. 4 foil each side of breast. B on breast. *Rev.* VILLA × BRESTOLL. Inscr. on *Obv.* divided by Saltires.

(17) Mm. *Ob.* Rose. *Rev.* Sun. 4 foil each side of breast. B on breast. Insc. on *Ob.* divided by Saltires. *Rev.* VILLA ȣ BRESTOLL.

(18-21) Four others, slightly differing in detail.

Crown. *Obv.* A Tudor Rose crowned (single arch), between H.R., both crowned. ✠ HENRIC VIII : ROSA × SINE × SPINE. *Rev.* WS (joined, Monogram of Sir Wm Sharington), DG ANGL' × FRANCZ × HIB' REX × In centre a shield, France & England quarterly, between a crowned H & R, with crown over shield (all as *obverse*).

Crown. Same as before.

HENRY VIII. (Silver.

Groats. *Obv.* King's head to left, crowned. Mm. a cinquefoil. HENRIC &c. On *Rev.* Mm. a cinquefoil and lilies. Inscr: BRISTOLIE CIVITAS and Sharington's monogram. Fleurs-de-lis in forks of cross. (Fourth coinage.)

Obv. King's head to left, crowned. Similar to above. (Fifth coinage.)

Half Groats. *Obv.* As above, but without the Mm. Monogram unusually distinct. Nothing in forks of cross.

Obv. As above. Two dissimilar quatrefoils between "Civitas" and "Bristolie"; and quatrefoils in forks of cross. Sharington's Monogram.

CHARLES I. (Silver.) [J. R. B.]

Half-Crown. *Obv.* King in armour on horseback to right. Mm. (*obv.* only), plume. Plume behind King. *Rev.* "Declaration" in two lines. Three plumes above, and 1644 and monog. BR (combined) below. *Rev.* extremely fine, but horse badly struck.

Shilling. *Obv.* King's head crowned to right. XII. behind. Mm. *obv.* a plume. *Rev.* BR (combined) in monog. "Declaration" in three lines. with three very large plumes above, and 1644 below.

Sixpence. Mm. "B" (*obverse*). CAROLUS D.G. &c. *Rev.* 1646. "Declaration" in three lines. Scroll work above.

Twopenny Piece. *Obv.* As last. II behind King. *Rev.* has monog. BR (combined) under "Declaration."

Penny. *Obv.* As last. I. behind King. *Rev.* Shield.

WILLIAM III. (Silver.)

Half-crowns. *Obv.* GVLIEMVS III DEI GRA. King's profile to left, laureated. Roman mantle. BR (combined) monogram, under Bust. *Rev.* MAG BR FRA ET HIB REX 1697. Four shields of Arms crowned; Eng. Ireland, Scot. France. In the centre, Arms of Nassau. On the edge, DECVS ET TVTAMEN ANNO REGNI NONO, and four crosses potent. (Two Specimens.)

Shillings. As above, but without the inscription on edge, which is diagonally milled.

Sixpences. As last. (Five specimens.)

Illuminated MSS., Old Deeds, &c.

Durandus's **Rationale,** in folio, Augsburg, 1470. [BP. OF C.]

Portiforium Sarisburiense, London, 1556. [BP. OF C.]

Missale Ordinis Cisterciensis, Paris, 1526. [BP. OF C.]

Ludolph of Saxony's **Vita J. Christi,** Florence, 1536 (Giunta). [BP. OF C.]

MS. small **Missale** (English work), with arms and badge of Henry VII. on binding. [BP. OF C.]

Extracts from Bristol Wills (fifteenth century). [BP. OF C.]

A Deed. Gift of the Abbey of Cirencester from Queen Elizabeth to her favourite physician, Dr. Richard Master, with seal. [G. C.-M.]

A Deed, dated 1514, with seal. [G. C.-M.]

This is the Exemplification of a Recovery.—"A recovery was a fictitious suit invented by mediæval practitioners, generally for the purpose of breaking entails or getting rid of outstanding remainders or possible claims to an estate.

The great interest of this writ lies in the seal, which must have been engraved in the fourteenth century, when the arms of France were sémé of *fleurs-de-lis*. It must have served the Court for the whole reigns of Henry IV., V., VI. and VII., and had been in use in 1514 for over a century."—(JOHN LATIMER.)

A Deed dated 2nd September, 10 Hen. V. (*i.e.* 1422), really two days after the death of that King; it is a grant by John Malory, of Winwick, to John de Seyton, of an annual rent of 55 marks secured on land in the parish of Kirby Monachorum. There is a good seal attached.

This John Malory was the father of Sir Thomas Malory, who was in probability the author of the *Morte D'Arthur*.

(See *Archæologia*, vol. lvi.: "The identity of the author of the *Morte D'Arthur*, and *Harvard Studies in Philology*, vol. v. (1896)." Who was Sir Thomas Malory?) [T. W. W.]

Casts of two seals used by the Lord Abbot of the Monastery of St. Mary, Tewkesbury, on a lease dated 20th April, 1485. [W. A. S.]

Cast of the great seal of Queen Elizabeth. [W. A. S.]

Early Printed Books.

Froissart's Chronicles. Trans. by Lord Berners. Vol. i. printed by W. Middleton (N.D.); vol. ii. by R. Pynson, 1523. Bound in one volume.

This copy was formerly in the possession of Mr. E. V. Utterson, and contains the following note by him in (pencil):—

"It was from this copy that the reprint of the invaluable old *Cronycles* was published by Messrs. Longman and Co., and edited by me" (in 1812). [T. W. W.]

Gueuara's Dial of Princes. Trans. by T. North, London, 1582.

This copy has book-plates of Duke of Sussex and Edward Hailstone and binder's ticket, said by Dr. Garnett to be very rare, if not unique. [T. W. W.]

Leland's New Year's Gift. Lond., 1549. Very rare. With autograph of Peter Le Neve, Norroy. [T. W. W.]

Matthew de Cracovia, Ars Moriendi. (Cologne *c.* 1475.) Extremely rare. See interesting letter from Mr. Pollard, inserted. [T. W. W.]

Interpretationes Hebraicorum Nominum. From the press of Peter Schoeffer at Mentz. The capitals illuminated *c.* 1464. The type is that of the Bible of 1462. [A. H.]

Dallaway's Antiquities of Bristol. 1834. The arms heraldically coloured. [C. S. T.]

A thick volume of **Cromwellian Newspapers**, size 8¼ in. by 6 in. [T. D. T.]

Comprising:—

The Kingdomes Weekly Intelligencer, September 27th, 1649.
The Publick Intelligencer, February 11th, 1656.
Mercurius Politicus, from January 14th, 1657, to May 21st, 1663.
Several of *The Loyell Scout*, 1660.
And others of *The Newes*, 1663.

NOTE.—The *Mercurius Politicus* of August 9th, 1660, "No. 32," contains an interesting item; for amongst the names of Deputy-Lieutenants appointed for the County of Somerset, that of Hugh Smyth, of Long Ashton, Esq., is recorded.

Civil War Tracts.

[All small 4to.]

His Majesty's Declaration to all His Loving Subjects, from Oxford, 1642. [F. F. F.]

His Majesty's Declaration to all His Loving Subjects after his victories over Lord Fairfax in the North and Sir William Waller in the West, and the taking of Bristol, 1643. [F. F. F.]

Copy of a Letter sent from Bristol giving Sir William Waller's victory over the Welch forces under Lord Herbert, also the names of the Conspirators in Bristol. [F. F. F.]

Speech of the Honble. Nathaniel Fienne's concerning bishops, 1641. [F. F. F.]

Second Speech of the Hon. Nathaniel Fienne's touching the Subjects Liberty against the late Canons and the new oath. [F. F. F.]

Declaration of all particulars of Colonel Fienne's march to Bristol, 1643. [F. F. F.]

Copy of the Articles agreed upon at the surrender of Bristol by Colonel Fiennes to Prince Rupert, July 26th, 1643. [F. F. F.]

A relation made in the House of Commons by Colonel Fiennes concerning the surrender of Bristol, August 5th, 1643. [F. F. F.]

An answer to Colonel Fiennes' relation "printed in the year 1643." [F. F. F.]

Another but somewhat different copy printed for Thomas Underhill, 1643. [F. F. F.]

A Check to the Checker—The Honour and integrity of Colonel Fiennes revived, re-estated, and cleared, 1644. [F. F. F.]

Colonel Fiennes' trial before a Council of War at St. Albans touching his cowardly and traytorly surrender of Bristol, 1644. [F. F. F.]

A Relation of the most Hellish, Cruell, and Bloody Plot against Bristol, hatched and contrived by the Malignants, Prince Rupert, etc., 1642. [F. F. F.]

The Examinations and Confessions of the Treacherous Conspirators against the City of Bristol, and the sentence of death upon them. [F. F. F.]

Two State Martyrs, or the Murder of Robert Yeomans and George Boucher, 1643. [F. F. F.]

Fairfax's storming and capture of Bristol, and of Prince Rupert's surrender of the Castle, 1645. [F. F. F.]

Cromwell's letter to the House of Commons giving particulars of the taking of the City of Bristol, 1645. [F. F. F.]

General Skippen's appointment to be Governor of Bristol, 1645. [F. F. F.]

PROCLAMATIONS, DECLARATIONS, AND PETITIONS, &c., 1621–1687 (in folio), from Lord Chatham's library at Burton Pynsent. [F. F. F.]

Chatterton MS.

*Chatterton, [Thomas]. Boy Poet. B. 1752, d. 1770.

The well-known *Satire* on *Horace Walpole*, entirely in his own autograph, with signature. Size 8¼ by 5¼.

This has been published in some editions of the Boy Poet's works, though the missive was never sent to Walpole, as indicated in the footnote. The complete MS. is now printed, as mistakes have been made in the text heretofore.

The poet's sister (afterwards Mary Newton) was governess in the family of Philip George, of Bristol (Sheriff 1808, 1813 and 1815), about the year 1783; and this MS., which was given to him at that time, has been in the possession of the George and Swann families ever since.

Walpole! I thought not I should ever see
So mean a Heart as thine has proved to be;
Thou, who in Luxury nurs'd beholds'dt with Scorn
The Boy, who Friendless, Penniless, Forlorn,
Asks thy high Favour,—thou mayst call me Cheat—
Say, didst thou neer indulge in such Deceit?
Who wrote Otranto? But I will not chide,
Scorn I will repay with Scorn, & Pride with Pride.
Still, Walpole, still, thy Prosy Chapter's write,
And twaddling Letters to some Fair indite,
Laud all above thee—Fawn & Cringe to those
Who, for thy Fame, were better Friends than Foes
Still spurn the incautious Fool, who dares—

Had I the Gifts of Wealth & Lux'ry shar'd
Not poor & Mean—Walpole! thou hadst not dared
Thus to insult, But I shall live & Stand
By Rowley's side—When *Thou* art dead & damned.

1769. THOMAS CHATTERTON.

Intended to have sent the above to Mr. Walpole, but my Sister persuaded me out of it.—T. C.

NOTE.—Never before publicly exhibited. [W. E. G.]

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*Book-plate of Horace Walpole and small portrait [J. E. P.]

*Prayer book containing this inscription:—

THE GIFT OF
SARAH CHATTERTON
TO HER DAUGHTER
MARY NEWTON,
1787. [J. E. P.]

Engraving. The south prospect of St. Mary Redcliffe Church. Toms, after Stewart, 1745. [J. E. P.]

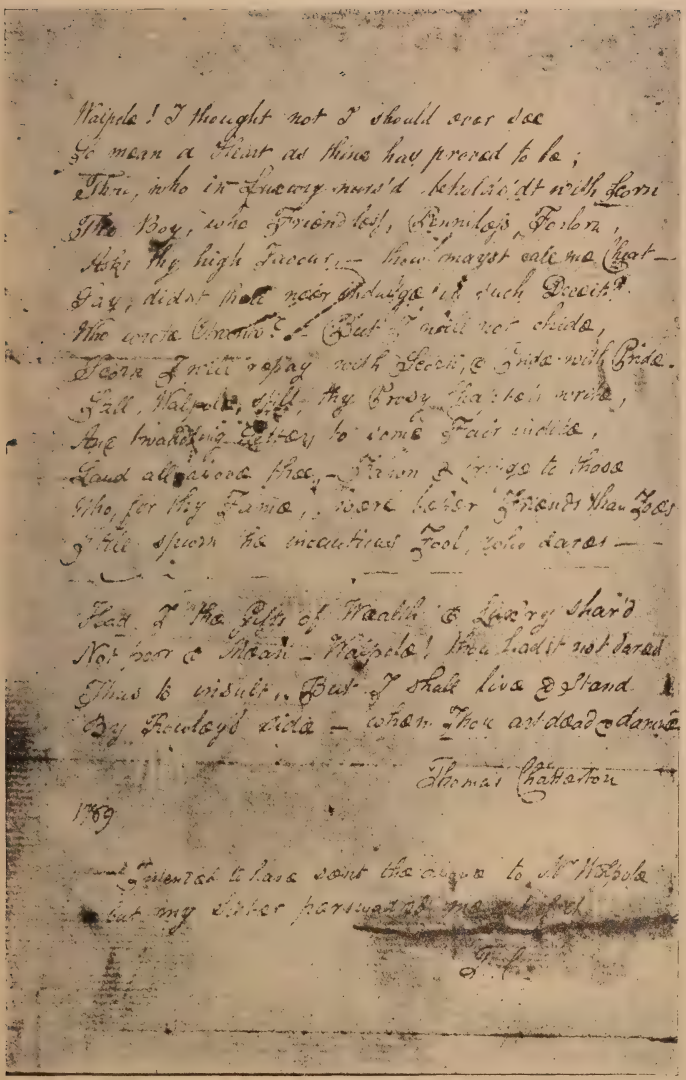
Bristol Bank-notes.

Old Bank. 1820. £1. Elton, Baillies, Tyndall, Palmer and Edwards. [C. H. C.]

Miles Bank. 1807. £5. Miles, Vaughan, Miles and Baugh. [C. H. C.]

Ames, Cave and Co. 1820. £1. Ames, Bright, Cave, Daniel, Ames and Bright Signed by Benj. Heywood Bright in 1820. Presented for payment 1890. [C. H. C.]

* These Chatterton items have since been given to the Bristol Museum collection. See *Bristol Times and Mirror* and *Western Daily Press*, July 18th, 1906.



Walpole! I thought not I should ever see
So mean a Heart as thine has proved to be;
Thou, who in Luxury nurs'd beholdest with Scorn
The Boy, who Friendless, Penniless, Forlorn,
Asks thy high Favour, — thou mayst call me Cheat —
Say, didst thou never indulge in such Deceit?
Who wrote Strawb? — But I will not chide,
Scorn I will repay with Scorn, & Pride with Pride.
Sall, Walpole, still, thy Prosy Chapter write,
And twaddling Letters to some Fair indite,
Laud all above thee, — Fawn & Cringe to those
Who, for thy Fame, were better Friends than Foes
I'll spurn the incautious Fool, who dares — —

Had I the Gifts of Wealth & Luxury shar'd
Not poor & Mean — Walpole! thou hadst not dared
Thus to insult, But I shall live & Stand
By Rowley's side — when Thou art dead & damn'd

Thomas Chatterton

1769

Intended to have sent the above to Mr Walpole
but my sister persuaded me out of it.

T. C.

FACSIMILE CHATTERTON MS.

Savery Towgood and Co. Unissued note for £5. [C. H. C.]

Bristol City Bank. Unissued note for £1. [C. H. C.]

Stuckey's Banking Co. 1812. £1. Stuckey, Lean, Hart and Maningford. Showing view of quay where the bank was situated in 1812. [C. H. C.]

Bristol Tolzey Bank. Samuel Worrall and Andrew Pope. £1. 1818. [C. H. C.]

Bristol Tolzey Bank. £1 10s. 1818. [C. H. C.]

Bristol Bullion Bank. £1. 1825. Browne, Cavenagh, Browne and Bayley. [C. H. C.]

Bristol Castle Bank. £1. 1811. Ricketts, Thorne, George, Wait, Dymock and Courtney. [C. H. C.]

Book-plates of the following local families:—

Blathwayt, of Dyrham, 1702.
Elton, Clevedon Court.
Sir Francis Fust, Hill Court, 1662.
Edward Harford, jun., 1741.
John Innys, Redland Court, 1754.
John Peace, Bristol, City Librarian 1815-1855. It shows interior of old City Library and the carved chimney-piece.
Edward Southwell, Kingsweston, J. E. P.]

Portraits of Local Historians.

WILLIAM BARRETT, F.S.A., Surgeon, author of *The History and Antiquities of Bristol*, 1789. Engraving. W. Walker, after Rymsdick. [J. E. P.]

The Rev. SAMUEL SEYER, M.A., author of *The Memoirs of Bristol*, 1821–3. Proof mezzo-tint. Drawn and engraved by W. Pether, 1816. [J. E. P.]

GEORGE PRYCE, F.S.A., author of *A Popular History of Bristol*, 1861. Sitting in the old City Library. Water Colour Drawing by S. G. Tovey. [B. V. P.]

JOHN TAYLOR, founder of the Bristol and Gloucestershire Archæological Society. Photo lent by Villiers and Quick.

JOHN LATIMER, author of the *Annals of Bristol in the Seventeenth, Eighteenth and Nineteenth Centuries*, and *History of the Merchant Venturers' Society, Bristol*. Photo by Abel Lewis. [F. F. F.]

Portraits of Bishops of Bristol.

JOHN ROBINSON, 1710–1714. Vertue, after Dahl. [BP. OF B.]

GEORGE SMALLRIDGE, 1714–1719. Vertue, after Kneller. [BP. OF B.]

THOMAS GOOCH, 1737–1738. McArdell, after Hudson. [BP. OF B.]

THOMAS NEWTON, 1761–1782. Watson, after Reynolds. [BP. OF B.]

CHRISTOPHER WILSON, 1783–1792. [BP. OF B.]

WILLIAM LORT MANSELL, 1808–1820. [BP. OF B.]

ROBERT GRAY, 1827–1834. Jenkins, after Wright. [BP. OF B.]

Local Portraits.

Mezzo—William Canynge. J. Ichner, 1787. Builder of St. Mary's, Redcliffe, five times Mayor of Bristol. [W. E. G.]

Edward Colston, Esq. Vertue, after Richardson, 1722. [H. G. K.]

Mezzo—Edward Colston. W. Pether, 1817, after J. Richardson. [L. M. G.]

Tobie Mathew. [1546-1628.] Born on Bristol Bridge. Afterwards Archbishop of York. [L. M. G.]

Evan Baillie. M.P. for Bristol, 1802-1822. Colonel of the Bristol Volunteer Regiment of Infantry, 1797-1814. [C. H. C.]

Photographs—Coleridge and Southey. [L. M. G.]

Engraving—Lieut.-Col. Brereton. Commanding Officer in Bristol during the Riots, 1831. [W. E. G.]

Coloured print—Lieut.-Col. Gore, of the Royal Bristol Volunteers. C. Turner, after S. F. Downman, 1804. [W. E. G.]

William Gore. Lieut.-Col. Bristol Volunteer Infantry, 1797. [C. H. C.]

Sir Charles Wetherell (in wax). Recorder at the time of the Bristol Riots, 1831. [C. H. C.]

Rt. Rev. Edward Fowler, Lord Bishop of Gloucester. Smith, after Kneller. [Born at Westerleigh, Glos. 1632.] [H. G. K.]

Mezzo—Oliverus Cromwell. By whose order Bristol Castle was destroyed. P. Pelham, 1720. [W. E. G.]

Original Drawings, representing Bits of Old Bristol.

By W. J. MÜLLER.

Mantel-piece in the New Central Library, Deanery Road, formerly in the Old Library, King Street, removed 1905. [J. W. A.]

Old Staircase in Baldwin Street [J. W. A.]

Temple Church, and old house in Temple Street. [J. W. A.]

Bull Paunch Lane, Old Market Street, long since demolished. [J. W. A.]

Old houses on the river Frome, demolished. [J. W. A.]

Staircase in the "Langton" Mansion, Welsh Back. John Langton was Mayor of the City 1628. [J. W. A.]

The "Compasses," Union Street steps, leading to the Pithay, now demolished. [J. W. A.]

St. Bartholomew's Hospital, Christmas Street. [J. W. A.]

St. Peter's Hospital, used as a Mint in 1696–8. [J. W A.]

Canynges' Chapel, Redcliffe Street, showing fifteenth-century roof. [J. W. A.]

By GEORGE DE LA MOTTE.

Temp. 1825–1830.

The Pithay, demolished. [C. S. T.]

The Guard House, Wine Street, demolished. [C. S. T.]

Wine Street. [C. S. T.]

Steep Street, demolished. [C. S. T.]

In one frame :—
On the Frome, leading from Union Street to the Pithay.
Castle Pill, behind the Mint, now known as St. Peter's Hospital.
Lewin's Mead Almshouses.
Doorway at Hanham Mills.
Old Passage, Baldwin Street.
Castle Pill, behind the Mint. [C. S. T.]
All now demolished.

By HUGH O'NEILL.

St. John's Church, from Broad Street, showing conduit, 1820. (A note says—to be taken down within two years.) [A. H.]

Steep Street, 1821. [A. H.]

The Shot Tower, Redcliff Hill, with old houses now destroyed, 1822. [A. H.]

The Old Cheese Market, from Wine Street; and the half timber house in Mary-le-port Street (destroyed 1904) in distance. J. Foster, 1849. [F. W.]

The Court Yard of the "White Lion" Inn, Thomas Street, destroyed 1872, and old house in Pyle Street, destroyed 1870. Joseph Wood, *c.* 1873. [F. W.]

The North Porch, St. Mary's, Redcliffe. J. Wood, 1847. [F. W.]

The Vestry, Bristol Cathedral. J. Wood, 1848. [F. W.]

Porch Doorway, Stoke House, 1669. J. Wood, 1873. [F. W.]

Fireplace in Hall, Stoke House, 1669. J. Wood, 1873. [F. W.]

The Old Drawbridge, built 1714. N. Pocock. [W. E. G.]

Redcliffe Church and Wharf. Hearn. [H. K. C.]

Eight views of Henbury cottages, 1823. [W. A. S.]

Clifton before the Suspension Bridge. S. Jackson. [H. M.]

The Old Ferry at Aust. Pocock. [H. M.]

Crosscombe, near Wells, showing the church, the Stocks, the village Cross and other ancient buildings. [J. MCM.]

Paintings.

Bristol Harbour, showing Ackerman's new warehouse on one side and the old shipbuilding yards on Canon's Marsh side, now the site of the deep water berths, by J. Walters, 1836. [H. K. C.]

The River Avon, with Cook's Folly. F. Danby. [H. M.]

King's Weston Park. F. Danby. [H. M.]

Local Views, &c.

"Old Bush Tavern," Corn Street. After Maggs. [C. S. T.]

A View of the Hot Wells, Bristol. T. Morris, 1802. [H. M.]

A View of St. Vincent's Rock and Clifton. T. Morris, 1802. [H. M.]

The Old Hotwell House, Bristol. After S. Jackson. [H. G. K.]

A View of the Cathedral and the College Green. J. Storer, after G. Holmes. [W. E. G.]

North-east view of the Cathedral Church of Bristol. G. Lewis, after J. Buckler, 1813. [H. G. K.]

A View of Stoke House, Stoke Bishop. J. Storer, 1826. [W. E. G.]

A Perspective View of the Drawbridge, Quay, and Clare Street in the eighteenth century. By C. West, after Philip Vandyke. [J. F. E.]

Old House in Baldwyn Street, Bristol, taken down 1823. Supposed to be the house in which Henry II. was educated. [L. E. C.]

Riots, 1831—The City of Bristol on the night of October 30, 1831. After C. H. Walters. [J. E P.]

Riots, 1831—Charge of 3rd Dragoon Guards. Coloured lithograph. L. Haghe, after T. L Rowbotham and W. Müller. [J. F. E.]

Photograph—St. Werburgh's Church, Corn Street, removed 1878. [L. M. G.]

Three Photographs of the north porch of Bristol Cathedral, showing figures of Latin Fathers, removed in the middle of the night by order of the late Dean. [L. M. G.]

Four Photographs of interior work at the old "Coach and Horses," Redcliffe Street, 1872. [F. W.]

Photograph—The Old Horse Fair. [F. W.]

A Group of Views—Parish of St. James. [L. M. G.]

A Group of Views—Bristol Bridge. [L. M. G.]

Two Photographs—Old Steep Street. [L. M. G.]

"The Cat and Wheel," Castle Green, in 1824, showing the old "Catherine Wheel," demolished 1900. [J. E. P.]

Oath of a Burgess, 1709, bearing punch marks of voting. [J. E. P.]

Five Plans in one Frame, showing the development of the City. [L. M. G.]

Pen and ink—St. Werburgh's Church, Corn Street. [J. J. S.]

Pen and Ink—St. Stephen's Church. [J. J. S.]

Etching—St. Peter's Hospital. C. Bird. [J. J. S.]

Etching—Maryleport Street. C. Bird. [J. J. S.]

Photograph—Old house in Lewin's Mead, now demolished, site of Bristol United Breweries. [J. J. S.]

Lithograph—Interior of old Court Room, St. Peter's Hospital. [J. J. S.]

Local Historic Objects.

A staff of office of special constable used on the occasion of the visit to Bristol of the Duke of Wellington, 27th July, 1816. Engraved J. Stratten, constable, 1816. [E. J. S.]

Special constable's staff, All Saints' Ward, 1831. [C. S. T.]

Oak staff of special constable, used during 1831 Riots. C. B. 70. [E. J. S.]

Silver Circular Badge, 3 in diam., bearing the Bristol Arms in centre, and around "On the foundation of Edward Colston." [E. J. S.]

Silver shield badge, bearing Arms of Bristol. [E J. S.]

Pair of handcuffs, eighteenth century, dug up at Westbury-on-Trym. [A. H.]

Embroideries, &c.

Mediæval embroidery on a chasuble. [BP. OF C.]

Part of a set of bed furniture, early eighteenth century. [G. C.-M.]

Part of bedspread, eighteenth century. [G. C.-M.]

Buddhist lady's girdle, ornamented with turquoise. [F. F. T.]

Various Historic Objects.

Carved ivory triptych, French, end of thirteenth century. [A. H.]

Ditto. [A. H.]

Model of the Alfred Jewel. [F. F. T.]

Box of Dassier's medals of the Sovereigns of England, dated 1731. [G. C.-M.]

Napoleon's famous but too previous medal, "Descente en Angleterre," frappe à Londres. [F. F. T.]

Miniature in enamel of Lord Byron, by Henry Bone, R.A. (1755-1834). [C. S. T.]

Silver box with 15 medals of English crowned heads. [G. C.-M.]

Locket with hair of King Edward IV., taken from the body in 1789 on repairing the collegiate church at Windsor. [G. C.-M.]

Two rings given to Mrs. Master by the Empress Josephine on her deathbed. [G. C.-M.]

Crucifix belonging to Queen Mary of England, 1554, given by Queen Charlotte to her maid of honour the Hon. Ariana Egerton. [G. C.-M.]

Ivory tobacco stopper, with concealed portrait of Louis XVI., French Revolution. [F. F. T.]

Head of Japanese pilgrim's staff. [F. F. T.]

Martel de fer, with Saracenic work. [W. E. B.]

Palæolithic silver-mounted flint used as a charm against lightning, Perugia. [F. F. T.]

New Zealand greenstone celt. [F. F. T.]

Curious bayonet-like stone implement, Ontario. [F. F. T.]

General officer's dress sword, *temp.* Charles I. Discovered on battle-field of Edge-hill. [A. H.]

NAMES OF EXHIBITORS.

BP. OF B.	Bishop of Bristol, The Palace, Bristol.
BP. OF C.	Bishop of Clifton, St. Ambrose, Leigh Woods.
J. W. A.	J. W. Arrowsmith, Clifton.
B. A. B.	B. A. Baker, Redland.
J. B.	Dr. Beddoe, Bradford-on-Avon.
W. E. B.	Rev. W. E. Blathwayt, Dyrham Park.
J. R. B.	Lt.-Col. J. R. Bramble, Weston-super-Mare.
C. H. C.	Charles H. Cave, Rodway Hill House.
L. E. C.	L. E. Crawford, Clifton.
H. K. C.	H. Kater Cripps, Clifton Down.
J. F. E.	J. Fuller Eberle, Clifton.
F. F. F.	Francis F. Fox, Yate.
W. E. G.	W. E. George, Stoke Bishop.
L. M. G.	L. M. Griffiths, Clifton.
G. H. H.	G. H. Hammersley, Sneyd Park.
A. H.	Dr. Alfred Harvey, Westbury-on-Trym.
H. G. K.	H. G. Kerslake, Westbury-on-Trym.
H. M.	Heber Mardon, Clifton Down.
G. C.-M.	Mrs. Chester-Master, Knole Park, Almondsbury.
J. MCM.	James Mc Murtrie, Durdham Down.
J. O.	Jere Osborne, Clifton.
J. E. P.	John E. Pritchard, Bristol.
B. V. P.	Rev. B. Vaughan Pryce, Clifton.
W. A. S.	Walter A Sampson, Weston-super-Mare.
J. J. S.	J. J. Simpson, Bristol.
E. J. S.	E. J. Swann, Leigh Woods.
C. S. T.	Rev. C. S. Taylor, Banwell.
T. D. T.	T. D. Taylor, Redland Green.
S. T.	Stephen Tryon, Hallen.
F. F. T.	F. F. Tuckett, Frenchay.
E. O. T.	Miss Tyndall, The Fort, Bristol.
R. H. W.	R. Hall Warren, Clifton.
T. W. W.	T. W. Williams, Bristol.
F. W.	J. Foster Wood, Bristol.

THE RELIGIOUS HOUSES OF BRISTOL AND THEIR DISSOLUTION.

By the Rev. C. S. TAYLOR, M.A., F.S.A., *Vicar of Banwell, President of the Society.*

The earliest mention of churches in Bristol occurs in Domesday Book, where it is said that the churches of Bristol hold three hides, and have one team there.[1] From the hidage the extent of property would seem to be a large one, for the whole estate of Barton by Bristol, including some 5,500 acres of modern ascertainment, was only rated at ten hides, and of these three hides were noted as church land. This church land was, however, but poorly cultivated; only one team, representing about 120 acres of arable land, was found upon it. Strange to say, it seems impossible to trace the subsequent history of this church estate. The parish churches held little or no land in later days; the religious houses (excepting St. James's Priory) had little land near the borough, and there is nothing to connect the property of St. James with this ancient endowment, unless it passed with the grant of St. Peter's Church to the priory.[2]

However this may be, the earliest of the religious houses of Bristol came into existence within about half a century from the compilation of Domesday Book on the sunny slope beyond the broad meadow by the banks of the Frome to the north of the borough, and the extent of its burying-ground

[1] D. B., f. 163: "De ead tra ten eccla de Bristou iii hid & i car habet ibi." The mark of contraction over *habet* shows that is a plural form, and that there were more churches than one.

[2] I have not been able to find any definite traces of the Benedictine Priories mentioned by William Wyrcestre (Dallaway, p. 137) as existing near the parish churches of St. Stephen and SS. Philip and Jacob.

shows that the population had not as yet extended far beyond the river. The date of the foundation of St. James' Priory cannot be exactly fixed. There is in the City Library a charter of confirmation of the possessions of Tewkesbury Abbey granted by Simon, Bishop of Worcester 1125–1149, which was witnessed by Robert, Abbot of Winchcombe, and Thomas, Abbot of Pershore, who entered on their offices in 1138, in which the bishop states that on the day when the burying-ground of the church of St. James which is to be built at Bristol was dedicated he decreed that no burgess of Bristol should be buried anywhere else without his license, except at Tewkesbury or Worcester.[1] We learn from this that at some time between 1138 and 1149, though the burying-ground of St. James had been consecrated, the church had not yet been built.

It was no doubt natural that Robert, Earl of Gloucester, should make his new foundation a cell of the great abbey of Tewkesbury, which his father-in-law, Robert FitzHamon, had founded some forty years before, and in the then state of development of Bristol the connection may not have seemed to be a strange one. But as the borough increased in population, wealth and influence, it must have become more and more clear that, though the priory of St. James was the oldest of the religious houses of Bristol, a slenderly-endowed cell, containing a few monks shut up by the rule of their order within its walls, and dependent on a mother house fifty miles away, could never exercise a strong and healthy influence within the borough. It was perhaps for this reason that Earl William, son of Earl Robert, though he added somewhat to the endowments of his father's priory, founded for himself a house of Augustinian Canons at Keynsham. The ecclesiastical influence of the priory must, however, have been considerable, on account of the amount of church patronage which it possessed in Bristol. Besides St. Peter s Church, bestowed by the founder, which was recognised by common consent to be the earliest and chief

[1] *British Archæological Journal*, xxxi. 290.

of the churches of Bristol, Henry, Bishop of Worcester 1193–1195, confirmed to it also the churches of St. John, the Holy Trinity, St. James de Fraia, St. Ewen, St. Michael, and the church of St. Brendan without the town. It is added that Mauger, Bishop of Worcester 1200–1212, also confirmed these gifts.[1] The church of St. James de Fraia was no doubt St. James *de Feria*, that is, St. James of the Market, St. Philip and Jacob by the Old Market; the church of St. Brendan was the chapel on Brandon Hill. Thus the priory controlled the patronage of nearly all the churches on the north and east of the borough, and instances are found in the *Annales de Theokesberia* of its dealings with the churches of St. Peter, the Holy Trinity, St. John the Baptist, St. Michael, and SS. Philip and Jacob before the middle of the thirteenth century.

Bearing in mind the spirit of monasticism, it goes without saying that the interests of the monastery rather than those of the parishioners were in the first place regarded. For more than two centuries after the formation of the priory, indeed until 1374, the inhabitants of the huge parish of St. James, which extended from Lewin's Mead to Ashley Hill, had no right of access to any parish church, for the priory church was purely conventual; but in that year, by agreement with the Abbot of Tewkesbury, they were admitted to hear mass and to celebrate all other divine offices for the living and the dead, as in other diocesan churches, and the nave of the conventual church became parochial, as it is now. But the monks had steadily resisted any attempt to provide for the spiritual needs of the people. In 1230, by which time a considerable population must have begun to creep up the northern slope, the Bishop of Worcester came to dedicate the altar and burying-ground of the house which the Dominican Friars had built in Merchant Street, in the parish of St. James. Then the monks of the priory approached him and besought him that the place might not be dedicated, and that the friars might not receive gifts,

[1] Dugdale, *Mon.*, ii. 75.

burial fees, or other offerings to the prejudice of the charters, privileges, and confirmation deeds of the bishops. But neither did the bishop desist from the dedication nor the friars from their building or from receiving offerings, to the damage and loss of the church of St. James. The friars came with commission from the Pope, and in this instance, at any rate, papal authority was on the right side.[1] Again, in September, 1242, Walter de Cantilupe, Bishop of Worcester, tried to appoint vicars in the abbey church of Tewkesbury and the priory church of St. James contrary to the privileges granted by the Roman pontiffs and other documents belonging to the church.[2] The attempt was unsuccessful, and the church was served before the Dissolution by the monks or their chaplains, and after it by curates, and it was not till the nineteenth century that a regular vicarage was established. There was a good deal of discord between Peter, Abbot of Tewkesbury 1216–1232, and William, Bishop of Worcester 1218–1236. In 1226 the abbot went to Rome, taking with him a letter from the convent denying the charges brought against him,[3] and on March 13th he was duly absolved by Pope Honorius III., who also on June 26th in that year issued a monition to the Bishop of Worcester to cease from burdening the monastery of Tewkesbury by celebrating ordinations or holding synods or chapters, and on the same day he issued an indult to the convent that they should not be compelled to receive the visitation of the bishop or archdeacon in their churches.[4] On July 5th, 1242, the abbot gave notice to John of Northampton, Archdeacon of Middlesex, that he should take possession of the church of St. James de Fer in satisfaction of a debt of two and a half marks—£1 13s. 4d.—owed to him by the convent, which he did on the same day in a house of his own near St. Paul's Cathedral. A church in the abbey patronage was treated as a mere counter for the satisfaction of a trumpery debt.[5] Again, on March 28th,

[1] *Annales Monastici*, Rolls Series, i. 78. [2] *A. M.*, i. 126.
[3] Dugdale, *Mon.*, ii. 79. [4] *Papal Letters*, i. 112. [5] *A. M.*, i. 123.

1384, the rectory of this church of SS. Philip and Jacob was appropriated to the abbey of Tewkesbury; and because by a statute of 1380–1 in all cases of appropriations it was ordered that a convenient sum of silver should be distributed among the poor out of the profits of the church, Richard Clifford, Bishop of Worcester, ordered in 1403 that only 6s. 8d. should be so distributed at Christmas on account of the smallness of the church and its revenues. All through the dealings of the abbey of Tewkesbury with Bristol exemplify the meaner and more selfish side of monastic administration, and it can have been little or no loss to the borough when the priory of St. James ceased to exist.

But most likely even before that church was consecrated the foundations of one which would supersede it, and would rank for many centuries as the chief of the Bristol churches, had already been laid. Robert Fitzhardinge, Provost of Bristol, had bought from Earl Robert the manor of Billeswick, lying to the west of the Frome, and there on the rising ground looking down upon the Avon marsh he raised his minster, which was hallowed on Easter Day, April 11th, 1148, by the four Bishops of Worcester, Exeter, Llandaff, and St. Asaph. It was not simply that St. Augustine's was a larger church than St. James, but it was also independent, and was fairly, and some seven years later, when the founder became Lord of Berkeley, even amply endowed. Robert Fitzhardinge was the first civil governor of Bristol whose name we know, and as he founded the church which from his time until now has been recognised as the chief of Bristol churches, he stands before us as first both in matters of Church and State; and certainly it was well that in a borough which owed little to barons and nothing to prelates, but which has risen to eminence through its commerce alone, the founder of the chief of our churches should have been one whom we can fairly claim as one of ourselves. Until the very eve of the Dissolution, the relations of the abbey with the borough seem to have been uniformly peaceful; there were no foreign interests to serve to the injury of the town.

When a population sprang up around the minster, the parish church of St. Augustine-the-Less was founded for their service; and when the men of the twin boroughs of Bristol and Redcliff, about 1240, made a new, deep trench for the course of the Frome, they found a willing helper in the Abbot of St. Augustine's.

Fitzhardinge placed his foundation under the charge of six Canons Regular of the Order of St. Victor, whom he brought from Wigmore in Herefordshire, which house had been colonised by a prior and two canons from the house of Augustinian Canons of St. Victor, near Paris, early in the reign of Henry I. These were Secular Canons living under a conventual rule who had been constituted an Order by Pope Alexander II. in 1061. To the more earnest minds of the time the secular clergy were without discipline, while the Benedictines seemed to be tainted with luxury and looseness in their rule, and the reformed orders who had sprung from the Benedictines had not yet been sufficiently tested by time. It was hoped that the obligation of Holy Orders, coupled with the discipline of conventual life subject to the visitation of the bishop, would develop a more effective organisation than had been devised hitherto. As Henry I. had placed his see for North-Western England in the Austin Canons' church of Carlisle in 1132, and Girald du Barri writing at the end of the century awarded the palm among monastic systems to the Regular Canons of St. Augustine, it may be taken that Fitzhardinge chose his Order wisely and well.

He was the head of a noble family of founders of religious houses. His wife Eva founded a house of Benedictine nuns on St. Michael's Hill, of which she became prioress. One grandson, Robert de Berkeley, founded St. Katharine's Hospital in Bedminster; another, Thomas de Berkeley, founded the lepers' hospital of St. Mary Magdalen at Brightbow; yet another grandson, Maurice de Gaunt, founded the Dominican Friary, and had a large share in the foundation of St. Mark's Hospital, of which his brother, Henry de Gaunt, was first master, and to which Robert de Gournay,

his nephew and a great-grandson of Fitzhardinge, was a munificent benefactor.

Of these foundations the house of Benedictine nuns of St. Mary Magdalene on St. Michael's Hill was but slenderly endowed, and it did not make much mark on the church history of the borough. Though indeed its work may have been none the less good and efficient on that account, for the dedication may point to a plague spot which had already settled on "the sides of the north," and which the founder and first prioress may have hoped to cure not only by her gifts but by the service of her life.

The hospital of St. Mary and St. Mark was next to St. Augustine's Abbey the wealthiest foundation in the borough, and in its complete form it consisted of a master and three chaplains charged with the relief of one hundred poor people every day.

A hospital of St. Mary Magdalene at Brightbow, Bedminster, was founded for the reception of leprous women by Thomas de Berkeley, brother and heir of Robert de Berkeley, who died in 1220, and Gilbert de Lacy, Prebendary of Sarum, who died in 1227, granted to it the privilege of having a chapel and chaplain in the house;[1] it still existed as a lepers' hospital in the time of William Wyrcestre. Robert de Berkeley had founded the hospital of St. Katherine at Brightbow for a master and warden and seven poor brethren.

King John, when Earl of Moreton, had given a close of land without Lawford's Gate for a house of lepers, which gift he confirmed when king on March 12th, 1208; this was the hospital of St. Laurence, which, no doubt because it was no longer needed for its special purpose, was given by King Edward IV. to the college of Westbury-upon-Trym. The hospital of St. Bartholomew, at the foot of Christmas Steps, was originally a house of Austin Canons, but by the time of William Wyrcestre it had become a hospital of poor persons.

[1] *Sarum Charters and Documents*, Rolls Series, p. 172.

Bristol at the beginning of the thirteenth century was very rapidly growing in wealth and population. To the south of the river the borough of Redcliff and the jurisdiction of Temple Fee contained a population little if at all inferior in wealth to their northern neighbours, and their three parish churches, then as now superior to any north of the river, amply met the spiritual needs of the people. But to the north of the Frome, where Bristol was growing most rapidly, the people were as sheep without a shepherd, with no parish church and no parish priest to care for their souls. But those who would care for them were at hand. The Dominican Friars appeared in England in 1221, and the Franciscans followed in 1224, and as we have seen the church and burying-ground of the Dominican house in Bristol were consecrated in 1230, in spite of the resistance of the Benedictine cell of St. James. A grievous spiritual need existed, and the national church did nothing to supply it. History has a way of repeating itself. The way from the site of the Dominican house in Merchant Street to the Franciscan house in Lewin's Mead lies along Broadmead, and on the north side of that thoroughfare is the oldest Methodist preaching house in the world, the foundation stone of which was laid on May 12th, 1739. On November 22nd in that year Dr. Creswick, minister of St. James since 1720, and Dean of Bristol since 1730, became Dean of Wells, holding St. James with that deanery till 1753. The minister of St. James was a mere stipendiary, dependent both with regard to the tenure of his office and the amount of his income on the will of the Corporation, and something might well be said in favour of holding the dignity of the deanery with such a post as that; but if Wesley had been charged with intrusion on a parish whose vicar lived at Wells, he might with reason have asked, as the friars might have asked five centuries before, "Is there not a cause?" Since the days of the Commonwealth the parish of St. James has been the chief home of Non-conformity in Bristol, Nonconformists supplying, as the friars did in earlier days, spiritual help which the national

church, owing to local limitations, was for a long while unable to afford. The unfortunate conditions of Earl Robert's endowment have much to answer for.

The Dominican Friary in Merchant Street was founded characteristically by a member of the family of Fitzhardinge, Sir Maurice de Gaunt, so Leland says, but Tanner mentions a tradition that it was founded by Matthew Gurney, another scion of the same stock.[1] It possessed a noble church with a choir 78 feet long and 24 feet wide, and a nave 93 feet long and 63 feet wide. The Franciscan Friary in Lewin's Mead seems to have owed its existence to no single founder, but rather to the alms of the unknown faithful; it was, however, certainly in being in 1234, for a grant of firewood was made to it in that year.[2] Its church was even larger than that of the Dominicans, as the choir was 84 feet long and 27 feet wide, and the nave was 84 feet long and 81 feet wide, with four arches on either side, dividing the central passage from the aisles. No parish church in the borough, except St. Mary Redcliff, approached these friars' churches in size, and their great preaching naves surpassed that of St. Mary Redcliff, which contains an area of 5,336 square feet, while the Dominican nave measured 5,859 square feet, and the nave of the Franciscans even as much as 6,804. The buildings of the other two houses of friars were smaller. The Carmelite Friary, which stood where Colston Hall now is, was said to have been founded in 1267 by Prince Edward,[3] and the house of Augustinian Friars in Temple Backs was hallowed on July 14th, 1320,[4] having been founded by Sir Simon and Sir William Montacute.[5] It is clear from the Pleas of the Crown in Bristol in 1287 that shortly before that time there was a house of Friars of the Sack in Bristol, but its site is not known.[6] Though it is no doubt true that the friars fell away to a considerable extent from the unselfish energy of their earlier years, the long series of bequests to

[1] Dugdale, *Mon.*, vi. 1492. [2] Dugdale, *Mon.*, vi. 1531.
[3] Dugdale, *Mon.*, vi. 1580. [4] Dallaway, *Wm. Wyrcestre*, p. 119.
[5] Dugdale, *Mon.*, vi. 1599. [6] *Transactions*, xxii. 169.

the four houses of friars in Bristol shows that even to the very end they had not lost the respect and affection of their fellow-citizens. For instance, Robert Thorne, founder of the Bristol Grammar School, by his will dated May 17th, 1532, left "the sum of £20[1] to each of the four Orders of Friars in Bristowe, the one-half for the reparation of their churches and houses, and the other for their sustentation."[2] Within six years all these houses had ceased to exist. The college of Secular Canons at Westbury-on-Trym, though it was much older than any of the houses in Bristol, seems to have been but little connected with the religious life of the borough, except, perhaps, for the five years after 1469, during which time William Canynges was Dean.

This then was the series of religious houses in Bristol in 1530. At their head stood St. Augustine's Abbey, which though it was never numbered among the greatest churches of England, held a respectable place among those of the second rank. There was an ill-endowed cell of a distant Benedictine abbey, and a nunnery of the same order, also slenderly endowed. There were four friars' churches, and at the head of a number of smaller hospitals and almshouses stood St. Mark's Hospital, dispensing year by year its magnificent hospitality. The almshouses were not affected by the Dissolution unless there was connected with them a foundation for a priest. Except in the parish of St. James, the friars' churches were perhaps not really necessary, for the parish churches amply sufficed for the needs of the people. The services at the abbey, in the conventual choirs of St. James and St. Mary Magdalene, and in the chapels of the hospitals were not open to the people; the religious houses as a whole stood apart from the life of the borough.

Furthermore, the monastic system had to a great extent done its work; it had ceased to grow, the last new house, that of Mount Grace, of Ingleby, in Yorkshire, founded in 1396, was completed by Henry VI. in 1440. In early days the

[1] Equal to some £300 of our money.

[2] Wadley, *Bristol Wills*, p. 181.

religious had been the missionaries and the teachers of the people; now they had retired to their choirs and their cloisters. The monasteries had been at one time the great seats of learning; now monks and canons and friars alike sought instruction at the universities. William de Broke, a monk of Gloucester, was the first Benedictine who took the degree of D.D. at Oxford. This was in 1298. His convent attended him, with the Abbots of Westminster, Abingdon, Reading, Evesham and Malmesbury, and one hundred noblemen and gentlemen riding on horses.[1] But it was really the beginning of the end when the best education of the time was to be found outside the walls of the minsters. The mark of old age was upon the monastic system, it was not simply standing still, it was decaying; the greater houses could not maintain their numbers, the condition of the lesser houses was not satisfactory, "that which decayeth and waxeth old is ready to vanish away." There can have been little in Bristol to excite enthusiasm except for the two houses in St. Augustine's Green.

Now we must remember that there is no necessary connection between the dissolution of religious houses and a reformation in matters of religion. During the long and manifold series of processes of change which we call the Reformation three main things were done, either of which might have taken place separately, or in combination with one or more of the others. First, the intruded supremacy of the Pope, which had grown up since the Norman Conquest, was swept away, this was completed by 1534; then the religious houses were dissolved, this was accomplished by 1541; then changes were made in the outward forms of religion, these did not begin till the reign of Edward VI. As all growth means change, it is not likely that these changes are completed yet; and it is by no means clear whether the form to be finally assumed will be more or less like that of the pre-Reformation Church of England than was the settlement of 1662.

[1] Walcott, *English Minsters*, ii. 35.

It is singular that the first dissolution of a religious house in Bristol at this period was a voluntary one, made by some who no doubt could read the signs of the times. William Wyrcestre says that the church of St. Bartholomew at the foot of Christmas Steps was formerly a priory of Canons Regular, founded by the ancestors of Lord de la Warre, but in his day a hospital of poor persons.[1] On March 17th, 1532, King Henry VIII., in consideration of the laudable purposes of Sir Thomas West and Lord de la Warre, representatives of the founder of the hospital, George Croft, clerk, probably the master, Robert Thorne and his executors, in the foundation and support of a grammar school in Bristol, granted licences to the mayor and burgesses of Bristol, that they might take possession of the house and hospital of the Bartholomews, and its property to the clear value of £40, for the aforesaid purpose. In accordance with these letters, Robert Thorne proceeded to recover from the master and patrons of the hospital the property mentioned.[2] On May 18th following Robert Thorne made a will, which was proved on October 10th, in which a bequest of £25 is left to "Thomas Moffett, master in the Grammar School in Bristowe"; there is also a bequest of £1,000 to be "distributed and ordered as my executors shall seme best for my soul," and it is likely that the sums of £500 received by the Mayor and Commonalty of Bristol from his executor on November 3rd, 1533, and £300 from Nicholas Thorne on February 18th, 1534, were instalments of this last bequest.[3] It is clear that no time was lost in acting on the provisions of the letters patent, the event showed that the master and patrons were wise in their generation in securing some of the spoil while there was yet time, and the poor inmates were probably no worse off than they would have been if the house had been dissolved under royal auspices some years later.

In the Long Parliament, which met first on November 3rd, 1529, and for its last session in February, 1536, Bristol was

[1] Dallaway, p. 88. [2] Manchee's *Bristol Charities*, i. 29.
[3] Wadley, *Bristol Wills*, p. 180.

represented by Thomas Jubbes and Richard Abyngdon,[1] though Barrett gives John Shipman instead of Jubbes; possibly one of the two last-named men had died. Things travelled fast and far in those days. On February 11th, 1531, the Convocation of the Province of Canterbury acknowledged the king to be "of the English Church and clergy the singular protector, the only and supreme governor, and so far as the law of Christ permits, even the supreme head"; and the same form was accepted by the Convocation of York on May 4th. On March 31st, 1534, the Convocation of Canterbury resolved that "the Pope of Rome has no more authority conferred on him by God in Holy Scripture in this kingdom of England than any other foreign bishop," and in May the Convocation of York came to the same conclusion, as did also the University of Cambridge on May 2nd, and that of Oxford on June 27th. On June 9th the king issued a proclamation abolishing the usurped power of the Pope, and finally, in November, 1534, the Supremacy Act was passed, by which the king was declared to be the only supreme head in earth of the Church of England. During this year also the renunciation of the papal supremacy by the members of the different religious houses was generally made. The document signed at Westbury-on-Trym is dated September 7th, that at St. Augustine's September 9th, that at St. Mark's Hospital September 11th. Care must be taken not to confuse these documents of renunciation with the deeds of surrender, which are of course of later date, as Barrett (p. 372) has done in the case of St. Mark's Hospital. The lay-people, and for the most part the secular clergy, seem to have been heartily glad to be rid of the papal supremacy, though no doubt there were misgivings with regard to the nature of the authority which would come in its stead.

In the spring of 1533 Latimer, who was at the time rector of West Kington in Wiltshire, preached several times in Bristol on pilgrimages, and other matters of controversy at

[1] State Papers Henry VIII., vol. iv., No. 6,043 (2). I owe this reference to the Rev. A. B. Beaven.

the moment, with the natural result that troubles arose, which troubles were increased by the contrary preaching of an opponent, Hubberdin. The matter is only mentioned here because two letters on the subject in the Camden Society's book, *Letters Relating to the Suppression of Monasteries*, are wrongly dated 1534.

In July, 1535, Thomas Cromwell had been in attendance on the Court in Gloucestershire, and Richard Layton, one of the clerks of the Council, was afterwards despatched on a visitation of the monasteries in the district. After visiting Monkton Farleigh, Maiden Bradley, Witham Charterhouse,[1] Bruton, and Glastonbury, he reached St. Augustine's, Bristol, on St. Bartholomew's Day.[2] He gave a bad account of Maiden Bradley, but of Bruton and Glastonbury he testified: "The brethren be so straite keppide that they cannot offende, but faine they wolde if they myghte, as they confesse, and so the faute is not in them." Layton had nothing to say about the Bristol houses, and there is no reason for thinking that there was anything at all amiss with them; indeed, the last prioress of St. Mary Magdalen's, Eleanor Graunte, who entered on her office on March 4th, 1520, is described as being *moribus undique ornata et virtutibus insignita*[3]—"Arrayed in virtue, girt about with grace."

Early in 1536 an Act of Parliament was passed for the total extirping and destruction of vice and sin in the smaller monasteries, and this end was to be attained by enacting that his majesty shall have and enjoy to him and his heirs for ever all houses whose property was of less value than £200 annually, and by this single stroke every religious house in Bristol passed into the king's hands except St. Mark's Hospital, the abbey of St. Augustine, and the priory of St. James, which survived because it was a cell of Tewkesbury Abbey.

It remained to complete the process of moral purification by sweeping the property of the houses into the royal purse.

[1] Wrongly printed, *Within the Charterhouse*.
[2] *Suppression of Monasteries*, p. 58. [3] Barrett, p. 427.

On April 24th, 1536, the Court of Augmentations was formed to receive the proceeds of the spoiled houses. In order to discover which houses possessed an income of less than £200 yearly, and were therefore already possessions of the king, a body of commissioners was appointed for each county. Of these the auditor, the receiver, and the clerk were royal officers, and with them were joined three other discreet persons. These officers were to make an inventory of the property belonging to the house on March 1st, 1536, and to take possession of the seal of the house and of all muniments. With regard to the inmates, those who wished to remain in religion were to be sent to other houses with letters to the governors, and those who wished to go to the world were despatched to the Archbishop of Canterbury and the Lord Chancellor for "capacities," and they were to receive some reasonable reward according to the distance which they would have to travel. Only the superior would receive a pension, for which application must be made to the Chancellor of the Court of Augmentations. A "capacity" was a licence for one of the regular clergy to act as one of the secular clergy, that is to say, to serve as one of the parochial clergy or as a priest of a chantry. An application for a "capacity" was in effect the petition of the sons of Eli: "Put me, I pray thee, into one of the priests' offices, that I may eat a piece of bread."[1] These licences were of course only issued to those of the religious who were in Holy Orders, and as the archbishops naturally required evidence of ordination, those of the religious who had not preserved their letters of orders were put to a very great amount of expense and trouble. Even when they had proved their ordination, it did not follow that the archbishops could, or would, find employment for them.

The conditions which arose in connection with the dissolution of the smaller houses may be well illustrated from the story of the friars' houses of Bristol. For some reason the friars' houses had not been dealt with at first

[1] 1 Samuel ii. 36.

under the Act of 1536, though they were without doubt included in its terms. Possibly their very poverty was for a while their protection, and it was judged wise, for the purpose of preventing alienations and loss, to deal with houses which possessed lands and valuables before touching those which, like the friaries, only possessed houses and necessaries for divine service. Probably also the friars, who were not shut up in their cloisters but went familiarly to and fro among the people, still possessed a good measure of influence and popularity, and it was judged better to leave them alone till it was clear from the fate of their brethren and sisters that the power of the king was not to be resisted. At any rate, no active steps were taken against the friars till the summer of 1538, nearly two years and a half after the passing of the Act of Suppression. The agent in the suppression of the Bristol houses, possibly on the principle of setting a friar to catch a friar, was Richard Ingworth, formerly Prior of the Dominican Friary of King's Langley, the richest house of that Order in England, since in apparent defiance of the rule of the Order it possessed an income of £125 annually. He was consecrated to the Suffragan See of Dover on December 9th, 1537, and about the same time he received commissions to visit the friars' houses, to depose or suspend superiors and to appoint others in their room, and with regard to the property of the houses, to take possession of the keys and seals, to make inventories of goods and to sequestrate them.

On May 23rd, 1538, the bishop was at Gloucester on his way to Bristol from Worcester. In letters written shortly afterwards he says that he found little that was of value in the houses, barely enough to pay the debts, and a tedious clamour of poor men to whom debts were owing. He had apparently received a sharp reproof from Cromwell on account of his leniency—he had not changed his friar's heart when he changed his coat. He replied that his leniency was owing to a desire to do his work with the most quiet, an indirect testimony to the popularity of the friars. He had

stopped all selling of property and granting of leases by taking possession of the seals and making inventories, so that he thought before the end of the year the inmates of all the houses which he had visited would for very need be glad to surrender them, because of course the Suppression Act of 1536 had stopped the flow of gifts and offerings on which the friars depended for support. As the wretched Gloucester friars confessed when the choice was given them whether they would keep their religion or surrender their houses into the king's hands, they answered that as the world is now they were not able to keep their religion and live in their houses, wherefore they voluntarily gave their houses into the visitor's hands to the king's use.[1] They were simply starved out.

With regard to the Carmelite house in Bristol, of which he had taken possession, the bishop writes thus: "The White Friars in Bristol, of which all that was in it did little more than pay the debts. It is a goodly house in building, meet for a great man, no rents but their gardens. There is a chapel, and an aisle of the church, and diverse gutters, spouts, and conduits lead, the rest all tile and slate. A goodly laver and conduit coming to it. This house was in debt above £16, of which paid £8, the rest discharged by pledges." At the end of the letter is a list of the names of friars for whom he desires discharges that they may change their apparel, and among them occur the names of the following Carmelites of Bristol: Thomas Wraxall, Thomas Clyfton, Symon Vagan, Johan Hoper. It has been thought that the last-named was afterwards the bishop who was burned at Gloucester, but the name was not uncommon, a Johan Howper occurs in the same list among the Black Friars of Gloucester, and as Bishop Hooper had been a Cistercian monk, there seems to be really no ground for assuming the identity. Writing from Haverfordwest on August 26th, 1538, the bishop says: "Also there be three conventes yet in Bristowe; as for the Black, they be ready

[1] *Suppression of Monasteries*, p. 202.

to give up, but the other two be stiff, and bear them sore by great favour. The Grey Friars, by reason that the warden is warden of Rechemonde, and is in favour by reason of that, yet for all his great port I think him twenty marks in debt, and not able to pay it.[1] The Austin Friar by reason of a grant that he hath of the king's grace for the term of his life, by which he thinketh that he may sell the house and all, for the plate is all sold, and also the timber that grew about the house, so that he hath within three years taken above a hundred marks of plate and timber and other implements, so that almost all is gone." He desires to know Cromwell's pleasure with regard to these three houses, which of course could not long survive in any case, and Ricart's *Kalendar* records that the friars' houses were surrendered in 1539.[2] The fate of the dispossessed friars was peculiarly hard; the monk or nun, the canon or canoness, might have found a home in one of the larger houses of their Order, the friar was cast out into the world absolutely without any resource or shelter at all. Even if he were in priest's orders, and had obtained a "capacity," or licence to undertake the work of a secular, he found it difficult to obtain such work.

There remained the abbey of St. Augustine, the hospital of St. Mark, and the cell of St. James. In 1537 and 1538 several houses which were not suppressed by the Act of 1536 were surrendered into the king's hands. It was evident that the end of the monastic system was drawing near, and in April, 1539, an Act was passed which confirmed all surrenders which had been or might be made. It became clear that practically there remained only the alternative of surrender or attainder. St. Augustine's and St. Mark's

[1] The beautiful tower of the unfinished church of the Grey Friars yet remains at Richmond in Yorkshire; the house was given up by Robert Sanderson and fourteen brethren on January 19th, 1539. (Dugdale, *Mon.*, vi. 1544.) This house must be distinguished from that of the Franciscan observants at Richmond in Surrey, the warden of which had been executed on April 20th, 1534, and the house itself was suppressed on August 11th in that year. (Dugdale, *Mon.*, vi. 1537.)

[2] Toulmin Smith, p. 55.

were surrendered on December 9th, 1539; Tewkesbury Abbey, the mother house of St. James, on January 9th, 1540; and so it came to pass that the oldest religious house in Bristol was also the last to fall.

It remains to consider the disposition of the spoils of these houses. The net income of the abbey of St. Augustine at the time of the surrender was £670 13s. 11d.; out of this the abbot received the manor house at Leigh and a pension of £80 a year for his life, and the prior and canons received pensions amounting to £71 6s. 8d. a year; so that the clear value was £519 7s. 3d., less the value of the late abbot's estate at Leigh. It seems that the old nave was destroyed at this time. At any rate, an account of the lead and bell-metal taken from the religious houses in Gloucestershire, rendered on May 18th, 1556, mentions 130 fother of lead (a fother being 19½ *cwt.*) as having been taken from the late monastery of St. Augustine at Bristol.[1] Another return, dated 1555, of lead given and granted by the king's letters patent states that "the lead of the late monastery of St. Augustine nigh Bristowe remaining upon the cathedral church amounteth to cxxx ff,"[2] so that it would seem that the amount of lead removed was about equal to that which remained. But it is, of course, impossible to tell how much of the lead was removed from the church, and how much from the other buildings of the convent.

On June 4th, 1542, the church was refounded as the Cathedral of the Holy Trinity for a bishop, a dean, six canons, and other officers. The clear income assigned for their support was £679 3s. 11d., almost exactly the same with the net income of the dissolved abbey; but of this sum only £301 9s. 9d. was derived from the old abbey estates, the remainder came from the possessions of other dissolved houses in the western counties. The estates assigned to the bishop produced a clear income of £383 8s. 4d., leaving £295 15s. 7d. for the Chapter and its officers. The income assigned to the bishop did not at first

[1] *Transactions*, xii. 106. [2] *Transactions*, xii. 113.

compare very unfavourably with that assigned to other new sees: Chester received £420, Peterborough £414, Oxford £381, and Gloucester only £315; but in 1549 Paul Bush, the first bishop, granted the manor of Leigh, valued at £56 3s. 1d., to the king, and the see was further impoverished by later bishops, so that it became the poorest of the English sees. It cannot be said, however, that the Church lost in a pecuniary sense by the suppression of the abbey, and it certainly gained much, or might have done so, from a practical point of view by the foundation of the cathedral, for a foundation for a bishop, dean, and secular canons would be more generally helpful than a house of canons living under a rule of enclosure.

Leland states that St. Mark's Hospital had at the Dissolution three hundred marks (£200) of land by the year,[1] and this seems to be a more trustworthy estimate than the £140 of Speed, or the £112 of Dugdale, for it is clear that the house did not fall under the operation of the Act of 1536, which suppressed all houses with a less income than £200, but that it was surrendered as one of the larger houses. It agrees with the larger estimate that the Augmentation Return gives a clear income of £165 2s. 4d., besides annuities granted by the convent for terms of lives amounting to £19 6s. 8d. The master received a pension of £40 annually, and the steward and two clerks received pensions amounting to £20 13s. 4d., leaving a clear annual value of only £104 9s. It is not easy to see why the church of St. Mark was spared, unless it was regarded as parochial; at any rate, a pension of £8 was granted to John Ellis, assigned to be curate of the parish of St. Mark, so long as he should serve; if he refused the cure, then to have but £6.[2]

The whole of the property of the hospital (except the manor of Paulet Gaunts, Southam and Northam, valued at £75 17s. 9d.), also the sites of the Carmelite and Franciscan Friaries in Bristol, and the manor of Hampne in Somerset,[3]

[1] *Transactions*, xiv. 252. [2] Barrett, p. 374.

[3] Valued at about £35 15s. 9d. (Dugdale, *Mon.*, ii. 409).

lately a possession of the monastery of Athelney, were purchased by the Corporation from the king in 1541–2 for the sum of £1,000 and an annual rent of £20. These were of course very easy terms, for it was a part of the king's policy to make the suppression of the religious houses profitable to those in authority as well as to himself, and thereby to secure their support in what he did.

On January 2nd, 1544, Henry Brayne purchased from the king the site of St. James's Priory, with the rectories and some other property pertaining thereto, for the sum of £667 7s. 6d., and an annual rent of £3 10s. 9d. The nunnery of St. Mary Magdalene was of course suppressed in 1536. The value of its property at that time seems to have been £21 11s. 3d.; and on July 8th, 1545, Henry Brayne made application to purchase the site and land and rents belonging to the late nunnery, valued at £17 8s. 10d., being all that remained in the king's hands. He was evidently satisfied with his former bargain.

The Dominican Friary was granted in 1539–40 to William Chester, and the house of Austin Friars in 1543–4 to Maurice Dennis, no doubt in each case for valuable consideration. The college of Westbury-on-Trym was surrendered on February 18th, 1544, and was granted in the same year to Sir Ralph Sadler.

The king, who was at war both with France and Scotland, found that his treasury was once more becoming exhausted, and in a Parliament which met in November, 1545, in addition to the vote of a large subsidy, an Act was passed for the dissolution of chantries, hospitals, and free chapels, and for the annulling of any surrender of such foundations as might have been made; for it would seem that the representatives of founders had been forestalling his majesty in receiving surrenders of some of these charities. Presumably, however, the subsidy sufficed for present needs, for little or nothing seems to have been done in Bristol at any rate, in consequence of this Act, before the death of King Henry on January 28th, 1547.

The guardians of Edward VI. found themselves with the charge of a beggared and discontented nation, an empty treasury, a doubly-debased currency, a war with Scotland, and a threatened war with France; it was natural therefore that they should look around for some means of raising funds, and a revival of the project of the confiscation of the funds of guilds and chantries was an obvious resource. Parliament met in November, 1547, and passed an Act dealing with the matter. After speaking of the superstition and error which clung to the abuses of masses and chantries, and pointing out how much better the money would be spent on good and godly uses, such as the erecting of grammar schools, the augmentation of the universities, and the better provision for the poor and needy, to which purposes the king with his most prudent Council would most wisely and beneficially, for the honour of God and the weal of his majesty's realm, order, alter, convert, and dispose the same, it carried out these high-sounding promises by a simple enactment that all colleges and chantries existing within the last five years, with the property of all guilds and fraternities, should be vested in the king from the date (April 1st) of the Easter following. The certificates of the commissioners appointed to take a survey of the chantry properties in Bristol have already been printed in our *Transactions*.[1] It will be enough to say that in Bristol the property of some fifty chantries, fraternities, and obits, with an income of £430, passed into the king's hands, and with them the income of some eighteen charities for the poor, amounting to £11 4s. 7d., varying in amount from £1 12s. 10d. given in connection with obits held by the Kalendars at All Saints to 3s. 4d. distributed in connection with ffraunce's Chantry at Temple.[2] These sums should be multiplied by about fifteen to give the equivalent of their present value. The incomes of the fraternities of weavers at Temple and of tailors at St.

[1] Vol. viii. 232.

[2] Particulars of the value of ornaments and jewels belonging to the chantries will be found in *Transactions*, xii. 98, 102.

Ewen's are not included, as their value is not stated in the return, though it ought to have been given; but the total value of the property of the fraternity of Kalendars at All Saints is stated to have been £39 16s. The robbery of the chantries had, however, already begun; it is noted with regard to Rowley's Chantry at St. John's that the priest had received £10 yearly under the convent seal from the monastery of Bath, but that since the dissolution of that monastery the annuity had been detained, for that the whole came to the king's majesty's hand. It is also noted at St. Stephen's that the heirs of one Mr. Sheppard used to keep an obit of about 20s. annually, which had been discontinued.

This confiscation of the properties of the guilds was the most cruel robbery of the poor that has ever been perpetrated in England, and went far to account for the utter detestation of Protestantism which marked the close of the reign of Edward VI. The guilds were the trade unions and benefit societies of the time, from their funds were provided means of help for sick and aged brethren and aid for burial, and their suppression must have caused very widely spread misery.

But there were still some small gleanings of church plunder to be obtained. Between May, 1552, and January, 1553, commissions were issued to take inventories of all manner of goods, plate, jewels, vestments, bells, and other ornaments within every parish, belonging to any church, chapel, brotherhood, guild, or fraternity, and that the same goods should be safely kept. It will be noted that parish churches are now brought within the range of plunder. The few indentures relating to our district made in answer to these commissions which still exist are printed in the *Transactions*, xii. 76–97. All ornaments deemed to be superfluous were kept for the king's use, but the documents recording the return of one chalice and the bells belonging to each parish church in Bristol to its churchwardens by William Chester, Mayor of Bristol, and one of the royal commissioners, are printed in the *Transactions*, xii. 81–97.

It is amusing to find that it has been thought that William Chester was of his open-handed liberality distributing gifts of bells and chalices to the Bristol churches, whereas he was of course restoring only a small remnant of the beautiful and costly ornaments which had been lately theirs. Edward VI. died on July 6th following, and the plunder of church property ceased for the time; had he lived much longer there is little doubt that the endowments of the cathedrals and parish churches would have gone the way of the estates of the minsters.

The dissolution of the religious houses was not so utterly ruinous in Bristol as it was generally. The churches of the two most wealthy of their number have remained to us, and Mr. Street's beautiful nave of St. Augustine's will compensate for the destruction of the Norman nave. Architecturally it is likely that the only serious loss is that of the Franciscan and Dominican churches; if they could have been preserved and made parochial (and there has been an ample area and population for two more parochial churches in the parish of St. James), the ecclesiastical history of that part of the borough would have been very widely different from what it has been. Moreover the waste of money and money's worth was not so serious as it usually was elsewhere. The cathedral was as well endowed as St. Augustine's Abbey had been, and the freeing of the city gates from toll and custom, and the quay and the Back from tolls on provisions, which was carried out with the income arising from the estates purchased from Henry VIII.,[1] was in a very real way, by cheapening the cost of living, a continuation of the work of assisting the poor for which St. Mark's Hospital was founded at first. But the chief sufferers from the Dissolution were the poor. They suffered first of all from the destruction of the religious houses with their widespread and kindly hospitality, then from the destruction of the hospitals, of which they might have been inmates, then from the confiscation of the chantry charities, then from the enclosure of common lands,

[1] Barrett, p. 375.

which led to a disturbance even in Bristol, and finally and perhaps most bitterly of all they suffered from the suppression of the guilds. In addition to this they suffered from the general misgovernment of the country and from the debasement of the coinage both by Henry VIII. and by the guardians of Edward VI. As it was the case that a day's wages would purchase more of the necessaries of life in the fifteenth century than at any time before or after, so there was no period when the condition of the poor was more utterly miserable than it was during the closing years of the reign of Henry VIII. and under the guardians of Edward VI. The sturdy beggar of the days of Edward VI., and the poor rates which began in the reign of Elizabeth, followed hard on the heels of the destruction of the religious houses.

It is difficult to tell how much of the plunder of the religious houses actually reached the king's hands, for it is certain that the needy men of the new families whom he had gathered around himself fattened on the spoils amazingly. Furthermore the pensions which were granted to the religious who surrendered their houses, and the annuities which were freely granted from the estates of these houses, formed a heavy charge on the revenues of the Crown, as we shall see presently. So far as Bristol was concerned, the king received £1,000 for the property of St. Mark's Hospital and the sites of the Carmelite and Franciscan Friaries, and £667 7s. 6d. for property belonging to the priory of St. James, while Henry Brayne made application to purchase the site of the nunnery of St. Mary Magdalene and property which had belonged to it to the value of £17 8s. 10d. Supposing he gave fifteen years' purchase money, the price would be about £520, and this added to the before-mentioned sums would amount to about £2,187. There were besides the sites of the Dominican and Austin Friaries and of a few small hospitals, the furniture and lead and fittings of the destroyed houses and the vestments and plate of the guilds, but it is not likely that the king received more than £2,400 in money from Bristol. Besides this of course various

sources of income fell to the Crown; a perpetual rent of £20 was due from the estates of St. Mark's, and £3 10s. 9d. from those of St. James, while the endowments of the chantries afforded, until the properties were dissipated, a very considerable income. As we have seen, there were about fifty of these chantries, colleges, and obits in Bristol, and it is likely that with the charities belonging to them they afforded immediately after their suppression a net income of some £440, giving with the rents mentioned some £463 annually. But from this would be subtracted the pensions due to the religious of St. Augustine and St. Mark amounting to £212, and to chantry priests amounting to £128, leaving a net income of about £120. Thus it would seem that the spoils of Bristol amounted to about £2,400 in hard money, and an annual income of about £120, but how much of this reached the royal treasury it would be difficult to say.[1]

Pensions were granted only to the superiors of the houses possessing an income of less than £200 annually, the other inmates were obliged either to take refuge in the larger houses, which were surrendered some four years later, or to go out into the world; and it would seem that pensions were not granted at the surrenders to religious who had been then transferred from smaller houses, for they were only given to those who had been inmates of the surrendered houses for some time. With regard to the surrendered houses, pensions were practically the price paid by the king for the house. Where the house was easily surrendered pensions were freely given, where difficulties were raised pensions diminished; the Abbot of Gloucester, who refused to sign the surrender, received no pension,[2] while the prior and monks who did

[1] As the only pensions to chantry priests which could be reckoned are those mentioned in the return of 1555, and some pensioners must have died, the total in 1548 must have been larger, and it is likely that the net annual income due to the Crown never exceeded £100.

[2] It is to be noted, however, that in the pension list of 1555 Thomas Parker, very probably a relation of the abbot, appears as Clerk of the Treasury of the possessions of the abbey at the substantial salary of £13 6s. 8d. annually.

sign it were pensioned as usual. In such houses as Glastonbury, Reading, and Whalley, no pensions at all were bestowed. It would seem that so far as the Crown was concerned the pensions were honestly paid, and efforts were made to protect the interests of the pensioners. For instance, it was found that some of the pensioners had sold their pensions, and in 1549 an Act was passed compelling purchasers of letters patent for pensions to restore them on repayment of the money given. The Act also dealt sharply with abuses which had arisen from excessive fees charged by the king's officials. By this time by far the larger portion of the spoils of the Dissolution had passed from the possession of the Crown, and the payment of the pensions must have been a heavy burden on its revenues. In 1555 the pensions due on account of houses in Gloucestershire amounted to £1,424 11s. 2d., and from Somerset to £1,507 14s.; in all £2,932 5s. 2d. from only two counties, but of course they were two counties in which religious houses had been numerous and wealthy. In 1555, therefore, an Act was passed (2 and 3 Philip and Mary, cap. 4) by which it was ordered that a list should be drawn up of all rents, pensions, annuities, corrodies, and fees due to any ecclesiastical persons, and that in future all these charges should be paid from ecclesiastical revenues in the possession of the Crown. A copy of this list is preserved in the British Museum (Add. MSS. 8,102), and the portion relating to Gloucestershire, including Bristol, is printed at the end of this paper.

The following table, which will be found to be approximately correct, shows the amount of charges on the estates of the surrendered houses in Gloucestershire in 1555. Kingswood Abbey was of the value of £244 11s. 2d., and pensions were granted to the abbot and twelve monks amounting to £108 13s. 4d., besides annuities granted under the convent seal amounting to £33; but it was reckoned to lie in Wiltshire, to which county the parish pertained till recently for secular matters:—[1]

[1] Dugdale, *Mon.*, v. 425, 429.

	Fees.	Annuities.	Pensions.	Total.	Value at the surrender.
	£ s. d.	£ s. d.	£ s. d.	£ s. d.	£ s. d.
Cirencester	10 0 0	25 1 8	58 13 4	93 15 0	1,051 7 0
Lanthony	—	20 6 8	76 0 0	96 6 8	749 0 0
Winchcombe ...	14 6 8	41 9 8	204 0 0	259 16 4	759 11 9
Tewkesbury	12 13 4	69 0 0	128 6 8	210 0 0	1,598 1 3
St. Peter, Glos. ...	32 19 2	64 10 0	123 0 0	220 9 2	1,946 5 9
St. Augustine ...	—	35 9 10	32 0 0	67 9 10	670 13 11
Hayles	—	17 3 4	63 0 0	80 3 4	357 7 8
	69 19 2	273 1 2	685 0 0	1,028 0 4	7,132 7 4

It thus appears that fifteen years after the Dissolution the annual charges on the estates of the surrendered houses still amounted to more than one-seventh of the net value at the date of surrender. At the Dissolution the pensions granted (besides any annuities there might have been) amounted at Hailes to about four-sevenths of the net annual income, at Kingswood to about two-fifths, at Tewkesbury, Winchcombe, and St. Mark's, Bristol, to about one-third, and at St. Augustine's, Bristol, and in the case of the Bristol chantries to about one-fourth of that amount. Assuming that the surrenders which were made by the religious were justifiable at all, it cannot be said that persons who had taken a vow of life-long poverty were badly off on an income guaranteed by the Crown varying from £60 to £100 annually of our money. It must be noted that at St. Augustine's the pensions were from the time of the foundation of the Cathedral a charge on the general revenues of the Crown, because the endowment of the Cathedral exceeded that of the dissolved abbey, and at St. Mark's the rent of £20 payable from the property sold would not go far to pay pensions amounting to £60 13s. 4d. It would seem that the lay brethren and sisters and the servants of the houses, who, as they could take no part in the surrenders, could receive no pensions, were really worse off than the pensioned religious.

Kingswood Abbey had been surrendered as early as March, 1538, and Lanthony Priory on May 10th, 1539, the other houses were surrendered in December, 1539, and January, 1540, Winchcombe on December 3rd, St. Augustine's and St. Mark's on the 9th, Cirencester on the 19th, and Hailes on the 31st, St. Peter's, Gloucester, on January 2nd, and Tewkesbury on the 9th. A letter is extant from the commissioners with regard to the highly praiseworthy conduct of the Abbot of Hailes,[1] who with his brethren were very honest and conformable persons, who surrendered their house with such discreet and frank manner as the commissioners had seen none others do better in all their journey. The house and grounds were well furnished with jewels and cattle, the woods were uncut, the land was ploughed and sown, and the commissioners earnestly recommended this honest man's doings to the king. Alas for such virtue! Hailes was but a poor house, the monks learned the meaning of the saying, "The fewer the better cheer," for their butter had to be spread very thin. Twenty-one monks received £106 13s. 4d. between them, but only eight received a pension of as much as £6; only three monks of Tewkesbury out of thirty-three received so little.

At Winchcombe the abbot, Robert Mounslow, received a pension of £140, which he was still enjoying in 1555, and the prior and sixteen monks received £110 between them. At Tewkesbury the abbot, John Wakeman, received a pension of £266 13s. 4d., which with the pensions of thirty-eight other members of the house, made a total of £550 6s. 8d. Robert Circester, late Prior of St. James at Bristol, was still enjoying his pension of £13 6s. 8d. in 1555. The pensions of the prior and fourteen monks of Gloucester amounted to £240. The king did well out of the headships of Gloucester and Tewkesbury. As William Parker, Abbot of Gloucester, took no part in the surrender he received no pension, and on September 25th, 1541, John Wakeman was consecrated to the See of Gloucester. It is not likely that

[1] *Suppression of Monasteries*, p. 236; Dugdale, *Mon.*, v. 689

any amount of *nolo episcopari* would have saved him, for on his appointment the pension which he had enjoyed for less than two years lapsed.

It is likely that one of the last survivors of the religious of Gloucestershire was Thomas Rede, probably a monk of Hailes, who was a prisoner in the Marshalsea in 1579, thirty-nine years after the dissolution of his house.

It is interesting to compare the list of pensioned chantry priests with the list of chantries in vol. viii. 232–296; the lapse of eight years had scarcely made as many changes as might have been expected. In the Wardens' Accounts of St. Thomas the Martyr, Bristol, for 1571, the following entry appears: "Convyding for the six that were sworn to present the dead chantry priest with a groat to the Registrar, 2s." This would probably have been Roger Lewes, priest of Stoke's Chantry, aged about thirty in 1549, who would have been about fifty-two in 1571, for Richard Griffithe, priest of Burton's Chantry, aged sixty-two in 1549, would hardly have lived so long. The entry shows that there was a formal certification of the death of a chantry priest, and it is a curious instance of the manners of the time that such an occasion should have been marked by a "convyding" or feasting, at a cost of some twenty-five shillings of our money.

Thus we have considered the dissolution of the religious houses of Bristol, and have touched shortly on that of the greater houses of Gloucestershire. The fabrics of nearly all the smaller houses have perished, and of the greater houses described in the Act of 1536 as "great solemn monasteries of this realm wherein (thanks be to God) religion is right well kept and observed," the greensward covers the sites of Hailes, Winchcombe, Cirencester, Kingswood, and Flaxley, ocean steamers traverse the precincts of Lantony, and a few ruined arches mark the resting-place of the bones of St. Oswald. But the noblest of all survive. Of all the monastic churches in England there can have been few more glorious than St. Peter's of Gloucester, with its incomparable tower and its lacework of tracery hanging before the arches

of the choir. St. Mary's of Tewkesbury falls little behind it with regard to the beauty of its fabric, while the chapels set round the eastern apse and the range of sepulchres within the church are surpassed only in the coronation church of the sovereigns of England. The groining of the choir of St. Augustine's at Bristol is a marvel of constructive and engineering skill; St. Mark's, on the other side of the Green, is a good example of a small collegiate church; while the church of St. Peter and St. Paul, St. Mary and the Holy Apostles, and the Holy Trinity at Westbury-on-Trym, marking by the number and variety of its dedications the length of its existence and the changes of condition through which it has passed, is a good instance of a church that was both collegiate and parochial.

And the question arises why the religious houses perished. Now we must clearly understand that their destruction was no deed of havoc wrought by Protestant iconoclasts. Much evil of that sort was wrought in later times, but between 1536 and 1540 Protestantism was not an active force in England; there were a few Dutch sectaries and a few sympathisers, mostly at Cambridge, and that was all. The religious houses were destroyed by men of the old religion, and by none others.

Nor again was the destruction of the religious houses to any great extent the result of anti-Roman feeling. No doubt the feeling of attachment to Rome was stronger among the religious than it was among the secular clergy or among the lay people. But the religious, with few exceptions, had accepted the royal supremacy in 1534. It was not in Rome's quarrel that such men as the Abbots of Glastonbury, Reading, and Colchester died;[1] rather were they members of the old English Church, resisting to the death, as their consciences bade them resist, proceedings which seemed to them violent and unjust.

[1] The Abbot of Reading was present at the opening of Parliament on April 28th, 1539, and the Abbots of Glastonbury and St. John's, Colchester, sent their proxies; before the year ended they perished.

Neither, again, were these houses destroyed because the life led in them was irregular or bad. This was not so. It would be difficult to point to any house of women where general immorality was proved, and houses of men which were of bad report were few. The people generally desired that the monasteries should remain. Bishop Latimer, who was certainly not given to praise of the days that were passed, in a letter to Cromwell bearing date December 13th, 1536, pleaded earnestly that the priory of Great Malvern might stand, and that two or three houses in each county might remain: "The prior is old, a good housekeeper, feedeth many, and that daily, for the country is poor, and full of penury; and alas! my good Lord! shall we not see two or three in every shire changed to such remedy." [1]

No doubt there were too many of these houses, they had in a great measure outlived their usefulness, they held too much of the land of England, and their superabundance both in number and wealth gave rise to the feeling that better use might be made of their property if it were otherwise ordered. And indeed it is likely that, at any rate so far as men's houses were concerned, the smaller houses might have been suppressed without loss, their inmates drafted into larger houses, and their property assigned to good and useful purposes. But the good of the Church and of the nation was not the moving cause of this destruction. The two main causes which destroyed the minsters were their wealth and their political weakness; and of the evil and corrupt generation which destroyed them, it is enough to say that the most striking proof of the need of a thorough reformation of the Western Church lies in the character of the men by whom the work of that reformation was begun, for they were all of them children of the Mediæval Church, and the parent is judged by her children.

Little need be said about the list of pensions which is subjoined, the date of which is Michaelmas, 1555. The charges on the monastic estates are entered under three heads—fees,

[1] *Suppression of Monasteries*, p. 150.

annuities, and pensions. The fees were payments due for services rendered with regard to the care of the monastic estates. The annuities were payments due in virtue of grants made under the convent seal; grants of this kind were frequently made by the religious houses for considerations of one kind or another. But it seems likely that some of them must have been made on the very eve of the Dissolution and in connection with it. Such most likely were the annuities, amounting in all to £24, due to Sir Anthony Kingston from Cirencester, Lanthony, Tewkesbury, St. Peter's at Gloucester, and Hailes, and the annuity of £10 for thirty years granted to John Ayleworthe from St. Peter's, Gloucester. The pensions were the annual payments granted by the king to the inmates of the houses in consideration of the surrenders; similar payments were made to the priests of the chantries, though in their case the suppression of the chantries was compulsory. Full lists of the pensions granted to the religious of several of the larger Gloucestershire houses are printed in Dugdale's *Monasticon*.

LIST OF PENSIONS PAYABLE IN 1555 TO THE INMATES OF RELIGIOUS HOUSES AND TO CHANTRY PRIESTS IN GLOUCESTERSHIRE.

B.M., A. MSS. 8102.

Specificantur et continent[r] in septuaginta septem Cedulis Indentatis sequen̄ tam noia et cognomina diversar̄ personar̄, qm̄ eor̄ separalia Feoda, An[tes], Corrodia, et Pencoes eisdm̄ pro termiō vite vel annor̄ concessa in Curije Sccij et Ducatū Lancastrie de Thesauro Regio solut̄, ac imposterum per clerum vigore cujusdm̄ Actus parliamenti exonerand et soluend videlt̄, a Festo sancti Michis archi, annis regnor̄ Philippi et Mariæ dei gratia Regis et Regine Anglie, Francie, Neapolis, Jerlm̄ et Hibnie, fidei defensor̄, Principum Hispaniar̄ et Cecilie, Archiducum Austrie, Ducum Mediolan̄,

Burgundie, et Brabantie, Comitum Haspurgh, Flandrie et Tirolis, secundo et tercio, prout in separalib̄ Comitatib̄ particulariter apparet.

Videlt

Folio 38.

COM. GLOUCESTR.

Cirencestr nup mon.

Feod.

	£	s.	d.
Rici Pate Sen[ll]1 omi Possessionu dci nup Monasterij predci	x.		

Annt.

Johnis Dawbeney senior		liij.	iiij.
Henrici Edmond	viij.	x.	
Clement Reve		xxxv.	
Willi Warbutt		xlvj.	viij.
Johnis Dawbeney Junioris		xl.	
Thome Arundell		lxvj.	viij.
Xpofori Smythe		x.	
Anthonij Kingeston mits	iiij.		

Penc.

Rici Woodall	xiij.	vj.	viij.
Thome Hudde	vj.	xiij.	iiij.
Johnis Russett	vj.	xiij.	iiij.
Johnis Straunge	vj.	xiij.	iiij.
Henrici Hanke	vj.	xiij.	iiij.
Jacobi Plybyen	vj.	xiij.	iiij.
Rici Lane		cvj.	viij.
Willi Smythe	vj.	xiij.	iiij.

Lanthona juxta Glouc nup monastiu.

Annt.

Anthonij Kingeston		liij.	iiij.
Rici Morgan		xx.	

1 Senescallus, *Steward.*

	£	s.	d.
Rici Wyatt		xx.	
Johnis Morgan	iiij.		
Rogeri Cockes		lx.	
Nichi Arnolde mi$^{ts.}$		xl.	
Johnis Hodges		cvj.	viij.
Rici Hodgekins		xxvj.	viij.

Penc.

Willi Henlouee	viij		
Johnis Ambrose	viij.		
Johnis Kellame	vj.		
Willmi Worcestr	vj.		
Georgij Deane	vj.		
Rici Westeburie	vj.		
Mauricij Barkeley	iiij.		
Edmundi Burford	iiij.		
Willi Presteburie	iiij.		
David Mathew als Kempe	viij.		
Willi Alvington	vj.		
Willi Barrington	vj.		
Johnis Hempstede	iiij.		

Winchecombe nup Monasteriu.

Feod.

Anthonij Aylewoth Receptor omi possession dci nup Monastii	ix.	vj.	viij.
Thome Gwente et Rici Hyde ss ex^{a} monastiu pd		c.	

Ann$^{t.}$

Edri Draicote		xl.	
Thome Sherle		xl.	
Willi Badger		xl.	
Johnis Bridgeman		xxvj.	viij.
Rogeri Jervys		xxiij.	iiij.
Willi Edward		xl.	
Thome Gwente	iiij.		
Edri Swalowe		xl.	

	£	s.	d.
Thome Belle		xx.	
Clement Throgmton		lxvj.	viij.
Willmi Caritas		xiij.	iiij.
Lodovici Craker		xiij.	iiij.
Thome Bailie		xl.	
Henrici Polstede		xl.	
Xpoferi Smithe		xl.	
Willi Freman		xl.	
Robti Throgmton		xxvj.	viij.
Humfri Dicke ludimagri	x.		

Penc.

Rici Monnslowe nup Abbis ibm.	cxx.		
Johis Hancock	viij.		
Willi Bradeley	vj.	xiij.	iiij.
Rici Freman	vj.	xiij.	iiij.
Rici Parker	vj.		
Willi Trenthme	vj.		
Walteri Coop	vj.	xiij.	iiij.
Willi Whorewoode	vj.		
Rici Williams	vj.		
Walteri Turbutte...	vj.		
Rici Boydon	vj.	xiij.	iiij.
Georgij Rooe	vj.	xiij.	iiij.
Cristoferi Chamiffatte	vj.		
Willmi Blossome	vj.	xiij.	iiij.

Tewkesbury nup Monasteriu.

Feod.

Willmi Barners Supius omi possessionu nup Monastii pd	x.		
Thome Wetherston clici coquine ejusdem Mon		liij.	iiij.

Annt.

Johnis Russell & Thome Russell		lx.	
Willi Barners		c.	

	£	s.	d.
Johnis Tailor als Barker		liij.	iiij.
Nichi Wakeman		lxvj.	viij.
Willi Dewye		xxvj.	viij.
Edmundi Harman		xl.	
Robti Comyn		xl.	
Johnis Hareford		xl.	
Henrici Crane	iiij.		
Xpoferi Smythe		xx.	
Laurenc Poyner	vij.	xiij.	iiij.
Hugonis Whittingdon	ix.		
Thome Gwente		lxvj.	viij.
Hugonis Pagett		xxvj.	viij.
Johnis Bridges mits		liij.	iiij.
Laurenc Gase		xl.	
Thome Sherle		xl.	
Edrus Walweyn		lxvj.	viij.
Edi Robery		xx.	
Willi Cole		xl.	
Thome Higons		xxvj.	viij.
Johnis Waters		lxvj.	viij.
Anthonij Kingeston	vj.	xiij.	iiij.
Penc.			
Robti Circettor	xiij.	vj.	viij.
Thome Twynyng	vj.	xiij.	iiij.
Rici Compton	viij.		
Thome Lekehmpton[a]	vj.	xiij.	iiij.
Willmi Stremeshme[a]	vj.	xiij.	iiij.
Johnis Bates	vj.	xiij.	iiij.
Thome Bristowe	vj.	xiij.	iiij.
Johnis Hartelonde	vj.	xiij.	iiij.
Thome Newporte	vij.		
Phi Gardiff	viij.		
Thome Thorneburye	vj.	xiij.	iiij.
Henr Worcester	vj.	xiij.	iiij.
Edri Stanwaye	vj.	xiij.	iiij.

	£	s.	d.
Rici Cheltenhme	vj.	xiij.	iiij.
Johnis Welneford	vj.		
Rici Wymbole	vj.		
Robti Astonne	vj.	xiij.	iiij.
Johnis Astonne	vj.	xiij.	iiij.

Sci Petri, Glouc nup Monasterium.

Feod.

Willi Walter & Thome Parker Audit omi terr & possessionu monastii pd		cvj.	viij.
Thome Parker clerici Sccij ibm	xiij.	vj.	viij.
Michi Arnolde mits Senll omi possess dci nup monasterij	xiiij.	v.	x.

Annt & Corrod.

Johnis Aylewothe assign Rici Cromwell p tmio xxx Annor	x.		
Edi ap Hoell		xxvj.	viij.
Thome Sherle		xl.	
Johnis Machin		liij.	iiij.
Willi Chedwoth als Bathorne	vj.		
Johnis Greves & Thom fil ss		c.	
Johnis Stradlinge		liij.	iiij.
Michi Cocks		liij.	iiij.
Thome Veale & Johnis ffil ss	vj.	xiij.	iiij.
Johnis Pye	vj.	xiij.	iiij.
Johnis Reade & fils ejus	iiij.	vj.	viij.
Robti Aldeswothe	vij.	vj.	viij.
Willmi Barners		xl.	
Anthonij Huddelstone		xl.	
Thome Hale		liij.	iiij.
Anthonij Kingeston mits	vj.	xiij.	iiij.

Penc.

Thome Hartelonde	viij.		
Willmi Newporte...	vj.	xiij.	iiij.
Humfri Barkeley	viij.		

	£	s.	d.
Willi Austen	vj.		
Rici Anselme	viij.		
Willmi Symes		c.	
Johnis Etheldrede	vj.		
Thome Saybroke	xiij.	vj.	viij.
Willi Burfford	viij.		
Willi Gamage	vj.		
Thome Baskarvyld	vj.		
Willi Ambrose	vj.		
Xpoferi Horton	vj.		
Johnis Ferrers als Clifford	x.		
Gabrielis Moreton	xx.		

Sci Augustini nup Monasteriu.

Annt & Corrod.

Willi ap Hoell	iiij.		xx.
Thome Gwente		c.	
Edmundi ap Hoell		xx.	
Willi Nasshe		lx.	
Johnis Aylewothe	vj.	xiij.	iiij.
Walteri Phillippe		liij.	iiij.
Phi Gryffyth		xl.	
Pdci Phi p Corrod		lxj.	iiij.
David Brooke		xl.	
Georgii Owen		xl.	
Jacobi Gunter	iiij.		

Penc.

Johnis Rastall	viij.		
Rici Oryell	vj.		
Rici Kerseye	vj.		
Rici Hughes	vj.		
Willi Underwoode	vj.		

Hailes nup mon.

Annt.

Othoni Sagar	iiij.		
Edri Draicote		xxvj.	viij.

	£	s.	d.
Willi Tracye		xl.	
Thom Sherle		xxvj.	viij.
Thom Trussell		l.	
Willmi Popeley		xl.	
Anthonij Kingeston	iiij.		

Penc.

Johnis Silvester	vj.	vj.	viij.
Johnis Gryffythe	vj.		
Rici Eden	vij.		
Reginaldi Lane		c.	
Ade Tylar		c.	
Willi Netherton		c.	
Thome Hopkins		cvj.	viij.
Rici Woodwarde		c.	
Rogeri Reade	vij.		
Thome Reade		c.	
Elizei Dugdale		liij.	iiij.
Xpoferi Hodgeson		liij.	iiij.

Cantar Colleg ffraternitat.

Penc.

Johnis Rastall nup inc Cant voc Bradstons cantuarie in ecclia de Wynchbone ...	vj.	xiij.	iiij.
Johnis Hurrold nup incumb Cantie de Brakenbury in pochia de Aldemondesburye	iiij.		
Thome Silke n magri ffratnit voc Kalenders infa poch omi scor infa Civit Bristoll	vj.	xiij.	iiij.
Johnis Colyar nup incumb Cant voc Spicers Chuntrie in poch Sci Jacobi in Bristoll	iiij.		
Thome Bristoll n Stipend celebranm Fratn sci Johnis Bapte infa poch sci Owini ibm	iiij.		
Reginaldi Lane n incumb Cantie beate Marie de Stone	vj.		

	£	s.	d.
Johnis Colyns n incumb Cant sive libe Capell de Workeley alis Worteley ..		lvj.	
Thom Pynchyn n inc Cantie voc Balles Chuntry in poch sci Trinite alis Cristechurch		c.	
Johis Bradeley n inc Cantie voc Cannynge Chuntry in poch de Radclif Bristoll		c.	
Nichi Harreis n un inc ffratnitat vocat the Kalendars in poch omi scor Bristoll		c.	
Thom Balle n incumb Cant sive sviciu bte Me in Cheltenhme		lxvj.	viij.
Thom Wayefeld inc Cant voc Framptons Chuntrye in poch sci Johis Bapte Bristoll		c.	
Phi Barrey n incumb Cant voc Banbletts Chuntry in poch sci Steph Bristoll ...		c.	
Thom Theste nup inc Canterie sci Andree in poch de Barkeley		c.	
David Dowell n incumb Cant voc Holweis Chuntrye in poch omi scor Bristoll ...		c.	
Thome Kinge n inc Capell sive Fratnit bte Me in poch sci Nichi Bristoll ...	iiij.		
David Thoms n inc Capell sci Johnis Evangeliste alis Knappes Chuntrye...		c.	
Rogeri Lewes n inc Cant voc Stooke Chuntrye in poch sci Thom Bristoll...		c.	
Willi Hunte n incumb Cant voc Spicers Chuntry in poch sci Nichi Bristoll ...		c.	
Rici Griffith n incumb Cant voc Btons Chuntrie in poch sci Thom Bristoll ...		c.	

	£	s.	d.
Anthonij Walmesby n̄ inc Cant vocat Framptons Chuntry in poch sci Johis Bapte		lx.	
Barnard Harreis n̄ inc Cantie vocat Meade Chantrye in poch de Ratclif Bristoll		c.	
Henrici Spendall nup inc Cant voc Furthe Chuntrye in poch sci Phi Bristoll ...		c.	
Willi Smythyman n̄ inc Cant vocat Everard le ffrenche Chuntry in poch sci Nicii Bristoll		c.	
Thom Reade nup inc Cant voc Kemys Chuntrye in poch sci Phi Bristoll ...	iiij.		
Willi Bonor n̄ inc Cantie voc Everard le ffrenche Chuntrie in pochia de Ratclif Bristoll		c.	
Rici Whale nup incumb Fratnit voc Kalendars in poch omi Scor in Bristoll	vj.		
Johnis Sherman incumb Cant voc Fraunce Chuntrie in poch sce cruce de le Temple Bristoll		lvj.	viij.
Walteri Jenyns nup incumb Cant sive svic voc Katheryne Jones svyce in poch Sce Trinitate als Cristechurche ...	liij.		
Nichi Saunders nup incumbente Cant sive Srvicij bte Marie in pochia de Burton sup aquam		lxvi.	viij.
Phi Wyatt nup incumb Cantie sive svicij Scor Jacobi & Anne in pochia de Newent	iiij.		
Rici Boydon nuper Incumben Cantie sive S vicij voc the Rode Srvyce in poch Sci Johnis Bapte Glouc	iiij.		

	£	s.	d.
Thom Mortiboyes nup Incumb Cant sive Srvicij vocat Godde Srvyce alias Trinitie Servyce in poch de Campden		c.	
Stephi Pole nup inc Cant sive Srvic sci Johnis in poch sci Michis Glouc ...	iiij.		
Georgij Pomfreye nup incumb Canter Scte Trinitate infra pochiam de Litledeane	iiij.		
Willi Broke nup Incumb Cant sive svic bte Marie infra Parochia de Newent	iiij.		
Johnis Shawe nup Incumb Cant bte Me in pochia de Westeburie		lxvj.	viij.
Rici Burnell nup Incumb Cant sive svic Sce Anne in pochia sci Mis Glouc ...	iiij.		
Willmi Wilson nup inc Cant sive svic vocat Robt Richarde Chuntrie in poch Cirencestr	iiij.		
Johnis Mery nup incumb Cant sive svic bte Marie Gloucestr	iiij.		
Hugonis Fishepole nup Incumb Cant bte Marie in pochia sci Michis Glouc ...	iiij.		
Rici Bery nup Incumb libe Capell de Tockington in pochia de Olveston...		lviij.	
Dci Rici Berye Incumb Cant bte Marie in pochia de Doursley		c.	
Georgij Waddam Incumb Cantie sive Srvic bte Marie in pochia de Newlond	iiij.		
Johnis Baker, nup Incumb Cantie in pochia de Newporte	vj.		
Rici Fletcher nup Incumben Cantar sive Servicij beate Marie infra pochiam sci Brewelli	iiij.		
Henrici Jones nup Incumben Cantar sive Srvicij vocat Alice Avenynge Servyce in pochia Cirencestr		c.	
Henrici Hooper nup Incumben Cantar sive Servicij Sce Trinitate in Michelden ...	iiij.		

	£	s.	d.
Xpofori Baxter nup Incumb ij^{d}. Cant Scte Katherine in pochia de Campden ...		c.	
Robti Joye Incumben Cantie sive Servic bte Marie alis Barnarde S^{r}vice in dca poch		c.	
Thome Edmonde Incumbente Cantar sive Servicij Sci Xpofori infra pochiam Cirencest^{r}	iiij.		
Willmi Pereson nup Incumbente libe Capelle vocat Morecote in pochia de Childewikehme		l.	
Thome Neale Incumben Cantarie sive svicij vocat Nottinghme svice in pochia Cirencest^{r}		lxvj.	viij.
Danielis Tibbott Incumben Cant vocat Stratford Furst Chuntrye alis dict Cant pma Sce Katherine in Campden		c.	
Mathei Walker nup Incumben Cantar sive Servicij Jesu in pochia Sce Trinitate Gloucest^{r}	iiij.		
Johnis Lethe nup Incumben Cantie Sci Blasij in Lechelade poch		c.	
Johnis Browne nup Incumben Cantarie sive Servicij Sce Katherine in pochia de Slymebridge	iiij.		
Richardi Gravenour Incumben Cantar bte Marie de Mynchinnehampton ...		c.	
Johnis Coke Incumb Cant voc Skarborough in Lydney	iiij.		
Thome Marshall Incumben Cant Sce Trinite Cirencest^{r}		c.	
Willmi Tailo^{r} incumben Guild sce Trini^{te} in pochia Sce Marie Bradgari Glouc		l.	
Wil.i Paynter nup Incumb Cantie Sce Trini^{te} in poch Cirencestr		c.	

	£	s.	d.
Henrici Bridge Incumb Cant̄ bte Marie inf[a] Eccl̄iam pochiāl de Norlatche ...		lxvi.	viij.
Georgij Cooper Incumb Cant̄ bte Marie inf[a] Eccl̄iam poch sce Trinitat Glouc	iiij.		
Will̄mi Stremishme Incumben Cant̄ sive S[r]vic voc St. Annes S[r]vice in pochia sci Johis Bapte Glouc	iiij.		
Johnis Glou nup Incumb Fraternitat sive Guild de Chepingsodburie	iiij.		
Henrici Neale nup Incumben Cantar Jesu in Marshefeld		xxx.	
Will̄i Wotton Incumb Cantie sce Trinitat in Tettburye	vj.		
Thome Harmare nup Incumb Cantie vocat Hernes Service ibm	iiij.		
Rogeri Capes n Inc Cant̄ voc Pollard Chuntrie in pochia sci Laurencij Bristoll		lxvj.	viij.
Will̄i Willms Incumb Cant̄ voc Barkeleys Chuntry in Cubberleye	vj.		
Thome Sweteman incumb Cant̄ voc Hillesley Chuntrie in Hawkesburye		c.	
Hugonis Dowsurg incumb Cantie Scti Georgij in Pauntley		lxvj.	viij.
Will̄mi Mosey Incumb Cantie vocat Chanyngs in Ratcliff...		c.	
Will̄mi Corbett Incumb Cantie in Paynes-wicke		x.	
Will̄mi Willington Incumb Canter in Sembridge		c.	
Rboti Savage nup Incumb Cantarie sci Clemente in Marshefeld		xxx.	
Ricardi Stanleye nup Incumb Cantie bte Marie in Parochia Sancti Owini in Gloucestr	iiij.		

	£	s.	d.
Thom Smythe Incumb Cantie vocat Brayes Chuntrie in Thorneburie ...		c.	
Edri Fryer Incumb Cant voc Kinge Edwards Service in Newlonde... ...	iiij.		
Willmi Halle Incumb Cant bte Marie in Chorleton		x.	
Johnis Woode Incumb Cant bte Marie de Dymmocke		lxvj.	viij.
Jacobi Rathebone Incumb bte Capell de Kingeley in pochia de Nymefeld ...	vj.		
Thome Perpyn Incumb Cant sci Mrgarete inia pochiam chri Bristoll	iiij.		
Willmi Boner Incumb Cant voc Forsters Srvice in poch sci Warburg Bristoll	iiij.		
Willmi Deane uni Incumb Fraternit voc Kalendars Bristoll		c.	
Willmi Potter Incumb Cantie bte Marie in Tetteburie	vj.	xiij.	iiij.
Willmi Holder Incumb Cant vocat the Kings Service in Barkeley	iiij.		
Sm om soluc in predco Comitat Glouc p Ann	m^{l}	$iiij^{c}$ xxiiij^{li}	xj^{s} ij^{d}

BRISTOL ARCHÆOLOGICAL NOTES FOR 1904.

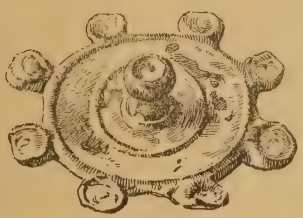
V.

By JOHN E. PRITCHARD, F.S.A.,
Honorary Secretary for Bristol.

"Archæological researches on the sites of villas and towns, or along the line of road or dyke, often furnish us with evidence even more trustworthy than that of written chronicle; while the ground itself, where we can read the information it affords, is the fullest and the most certain of documents."—JOHN RICHARD GREEN.

My notes of 1904 contain no records of finds of either of the fascinating pre-historic periods as has been the case regularly since 1900, but the year had hardly opened when a working-man from the district of Hanham brought a small ornament into the city and disposed of it to an antiquarian dealer.

The object was a *Romano-British fibula* of the third century.



This interesting brooch had originally been filled with red, blue and yellow enamels, some traces of which are still clearly visible; the pin is unfortunately lost otherwise it is in good condition, and it is a typical specimen of that period.

The only explanation given by the labourer as to the discovery was that he found it when digging in his garden. It is to be regretted that no further question was put to the finder, otherwise by careful investigation some traces

of Roman occupation in the vicinity may have been brought to light, as Hanham is practically on the line of the Roman road between Bath and Caerwent. Of course the brooch may have been simply dropped by a Roman lady in passing through the district, though a villa may have existed here or close by.

A brooch somewhat similar in character was found at Verulam in 1856, and was then in the collection of Mr. (now Sir) John Evans; and it is interesting to compare the specimen recently found with others discovered at Charterhouse-on-Mendip, now in the "Pass Collection."

Then of the same period, the writer has found several more pieces of figured Samian ware, during casual strolls at Sea Mills; and numerous small bronze fibulæ, as well as sundry worn coinage have fallen into other hands as the result of the requisite digging for the widening of the railway cutting at that station.

Another local collector also picked up in December a "second brass" coin of Nero—one of the "Imperial" series, which reads as follows:—

Obv. IMP. NERO. CAESAR. AVG. P.MAX. P.P.P. Laureated head of Emperor to right.

Rev. S.C. Victory winged, holding a buckler inscribed S.P.Q.R. (Senatus populusque Romanus).

Sea Mills is a spot of unusual local interest, and is continually offering proofs of Roman occupation. There is no doubt that we as a Society ought to investigate the site, and it is hoped that when Caerwent is finished this work will be taken in hand.

DEMOLITION OF OLD HOUSES.

And now I have to speak of several instances of demolition in the heart of the city, and each of considerable importance; for naturally the value of all our old-world relics becomes greater as year by year the number of examples left to us is being rapidly diminished.

The wave of destruction makes steady progress, and

Horton, Photo.

OLD HOUSE, MARY-LE-PORT STREET. DEMOLISHED 1904.

though it must be borne in mind that the conditions of life are so changed that it is impossible to carry on the business of "now-a-days" in such badly-arranged buildings—with cramped rooms, narrow passages, and dismal basements as suited our forefathers—yet the regret at losing so many examples of domestic architecture is no less intense.

To begin then with the Stuart period, when a large number of gabled houses, built mostly of timber, were erected in the heart of the city, which must then have been delightfully picturesque.

The imposing half-timber structure known as *No. 35 Mary-le-port Street*, facing the old Cheese Market, was built about that time; but on February 9th it met its doom, for the "wreckers" on that morning began their work, which in this instance meant total extinction, the space being required for an "up-to-date" warehouse.

It was not the oldest house in this quaint thoroughfare—for the "Swan Inn," at the east end, was probably built two centuries earlier[1]—but its elevation was of very considerable attraction to visitors.

The frontage, of 35 ft., included a double shop and a passage on either side. Latterly the property has comprised frontage only, a mere shell, there being but two rooms on each floor with no backlet; but the arched cellars under were very large and extended a long way back, as doubtless the house itself did formerly, with a garden on the river side.

The elevation had probably been somewhat altered from its original state, but it will be remembered that the round-headed windows were similar to those to be seen in the "Dutch House," and the numerous quaintly-carved brackets,[2] supporting extensions in the front elevation, were of typical Jacobian style.

[1] Some fifteenth-century woodwork—notably the carved barge boards and doorway—being still left.

[2] Messrs. Wilkins and Sons, the builders, kindly gave several to the Museum collection.

It has been constantly stated that these premises—occupied for many years past by Messrs. Barnard and Co.—formed the original business place of Messrs. W. D. and H. O. Wills; but this is not so, for the gabled house known as No. 112 Redcliff Street is entitled to that distinction, and the date of foundation about 1792.

The tobacco trade was first commenced in Mary-le-port Street at No. 33, in the house adjoining the one just destroyed, by Maurice James, about 1729, under the sign of the "Parrot." The Ricketts family followed, and later they were joined by a Mr. Leonard, the business being then carried on under the style of Ricketts, Leonard, and Co.

The next change came in 1833, when it became Ricketts, Wills, and Co., and again in 1847, when it reverted wholly to W. D. and H. O. Wills.

In March, the month following the loss in Mary-le-port Street, two small gabled houses in *Peter Street*,[1] facing St. Peter's Hospital, were taken down, and new brick erections now exist.

These half-timber houses were numbered 4 and 5, and only ten or twelve years ago the dates 1664 and 1663 could be plainly seen carved upon the frontages, which together only measured 30 ft.

The interior had been altered many times, and there was therefore nothing of interest left.

King Street, which was laid out for building soon after an Order was issued in Council in March, 1663, and which was probably so named by the Council as a mark of loyalty, has now suffered the loss of two more of the original houses built at that time. These stood on the west side of and abutting the Theatre Royal, or Old Theatre, and were known as Nos. 35 and 36. Both had gabled roofs with plaster fronts, and were pulled down at the end of the year—being quite beyond repair—to make room for better erections. The interesting front of the theatre was taken down in 1903.

[1] See *Bristol, Past and Present*, vol. iii., p. 141.

There was a typical seventeenth-century staircase in No. 36, and the balusters were formed of flat boards bearing slight carving. This house also contained a good "Hepplewhite" chimney-piece; but, apart from these objects, there was really nothing of great interest, though some of the windows were rather unusual.

These simple but typical tenements were doubtless the abodes of comparatively wealthy folk, even up to the days of the great Georgian era; for was not the playhouse adjoining, erected between 1764 and 1766, intended to provide for the opulent and fashionable residents of this district, which was only rivalled by College Green and its neighbourhood?

On the 13th October the historic property in Prince Street known as the *Old Assembly Rooms* was put up by public auction, subject to a certain lease; and it will not surprise anyone to know it was not so sold in the open market.

The lease contained a covenant by the lessee "that the Corporation shall have the free use of the property for the space of six days in every or any one year of the said term when the same shall be wanted for the entertainment or accommodation of any of the Royal Family that may come to the city, on three days' notice in writing from the Treasurer of the City."

It is interesting to record this curious clause under which the property in question has been held since the eighteenth century, as such cases must be quite rare.

SMALL FINDS.

No old coinage of intrinsic value has turned up during excavations in 1904, but a counter, a trader's token, and a medal, all of unusual interest, have come to light from excavations in St. Augustine's parish.

The *copper counter* of Henry IV. of France was issued between 1589 and 1610, or when Queen Elizabeth was reigning. It reads as follows:—

Obv. Bust of King to left; around—
VVLTV · QVO · COELVM.

Rev. Arms of France and Navarre—
H under shield, and around—
HENRICVS · IV · FRANCORVM · E · NAVAR · REX.

The seventeenth-century *trader's token* is particularly interesting, for it is yet another of those curious pieces issued before the era of a regal copper currency, and it has not been previously published.[1] It was issued by a *Bath* freeman, and is as follows:—

Obv. AMBROSE · BISHOP = –o–
Rev. IN · BATH · 1669 = A · M · B

The *copper medal* commemorates the fitting-out of two American ships.[1] It is perfectly struck and is in unusually fine condition. As there is no similar specimen in the British Museum cabinet, and apparently no record, it is very probably unique; and it is certainly interesting that this piece should have been found several feet below the level of the roadway in St. Augustine's Place.

The following is a full description:—

Obv. A three-mast ship and a yacht sailing to the left, and around the inscription: COLUMBIA AND WASHINGTON. COMMANDED BY J. KENDRICK.

Rev. Around the top: FITTED AT BOSTON, *N. AMERICA*, FOR THE PACIFIC OCEAN.

BY
J · BARRELL,
S · BROWN, C · BULFINCH,
J · DARBY, C · HATCH,
J · M · PINTARD.
1787.

[1] Exhibited at the Royal Numismatic Society on October 20th, 1904.

Horton, Photo. PAGE 133.

ST. AUGUSTINE'S PLACE, SITE OF CHURCH OF CARMELITE FRIARY. DEMOLISHED 1904.

THE CARMELITE FRIARY.

(White Friars.)

I must now give some particulars about the extensive excavations in Colston Street, on the lower or south-west side of the Colston Hall, which stands largely upon the site of the monastic buildings of the Carmelites, as those interested in Bristol history are fully aware.

This was one of the sites suggested for the new Central Library, and probably the one that the majority of the citizens would have selected. It was, however, eventually secured by the Bristol Gas Company for their new offices, and the work of clearing the space began in March last.

The buildings which then stood upon what is known as St. Augustine's Place consisted of one block, decidedly plain in elevation, but with two bold string courses running the entire length of the frontage, surmounted by a plain parapet; and beginning at the end, from the Colston Hall side, comprised two eighteenth-century dwelling-houses, each possessing interesting door-heads. These buildings were divided by a "passage" from a small chapel (fitted up for worship by the Countess of Huntingdon about the year 1775), which was formerly the old Assembly Room; at the corner of Pipe Lane stood a small but quaint seventeenth-century gabled house, and beyond again in Pipe Lane several tenements which were of a very poor style of architecture.

The passage referred to—known as "Lady Huntingdon's Court"—extended 60 ft. backward from the line of frontage, when it turned at a right angle towards Colston's Hall, having on the left, or north-west side, two seventeenth-century gabled houses, with over-hanging fronts, and two later houses; and on the right, or city side, the backs of the two dwelling-houses first mentioned, which faced the street.

Hardly any features of interest were found in all this block, save some crude carved wood-work, and a few fire-grates of the Adams and Hepplewhite periods; but several of the latter were secured for the city collection.

As soon as the site was cleared by the "wreckers"—Messrs. C. A. Hayes and Son, the contractors, took possession of the ground, and quickly commenced excavations for the necessary deep foundations.

This being a part of the actual site of the Carmelite Friary, it was fully expected some interesting features would be revealed during the progress of the work.

Unfortunately, when the "Great House," built upon the site of the domestic buildings of the Friary, was pulled down in the early sixties, no record was made of any finds or of anything that happened, or some remains of the mediæval buildings might have been detected.

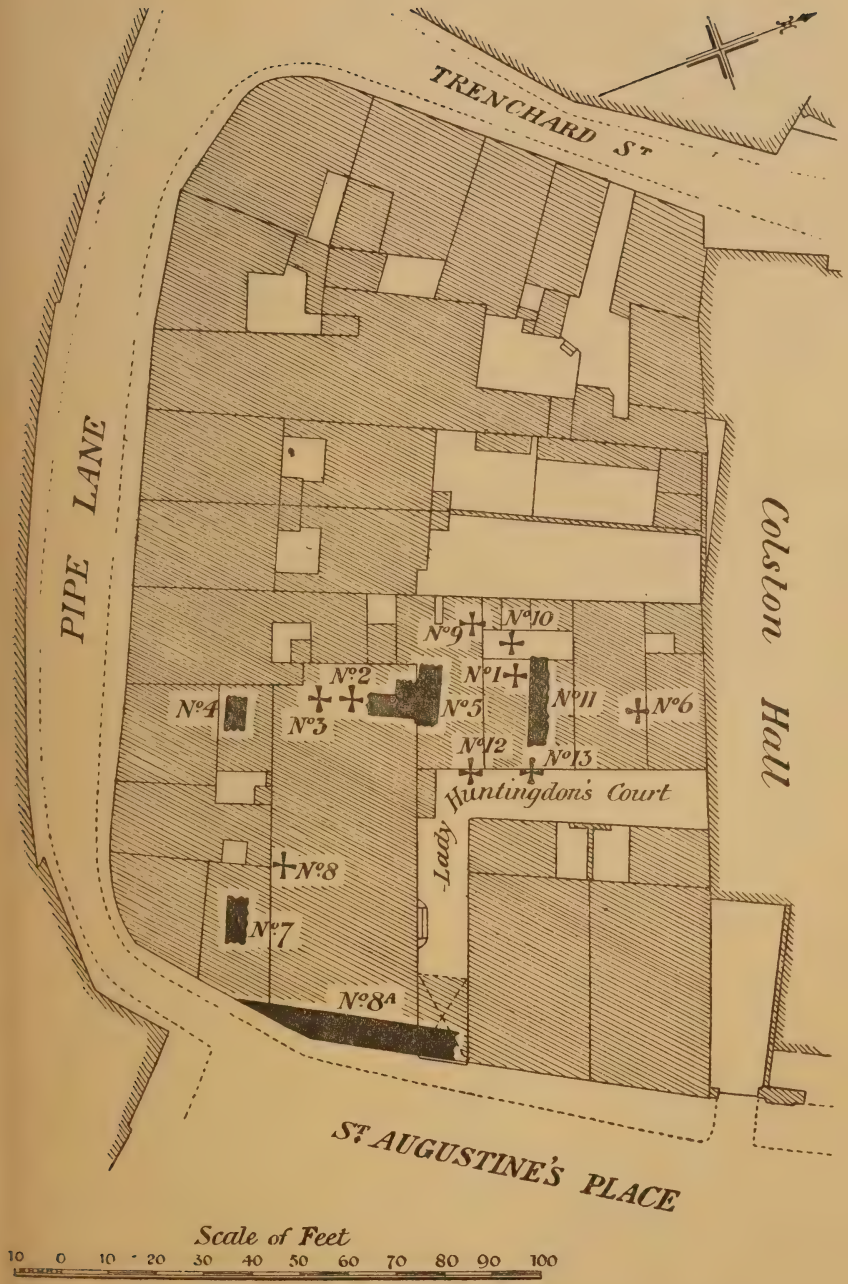
The historian Barrett, writing in 1789, said that several very ancient arches were extant, and these, and possibly some windows, might have been traced in the "Great House" building when the Hospital was demolished in 1863; but as is well known great indifference was shown about everything of this kind about that period, and undoubtedly many relics of past ages were lost to us.

Happily in Mr. Ashley, the present clerk of the works, we antiquaries had a "friend *in situ*," as the evidence will show; and our member Mr. Hayes most kindly put me in possession to act as I wished, and promised to allow all finds to go where I thought best — a kindness much appreciated.

The work of excavating commenced in August, and a month later, on September 13th, two *skeletons* were found at a spot marked No. 3 on plan. They were lying on the rock side by side, on their backs with their heads to the west; but there was not a vestige of any coffin or clothing visible.

Many further discoveries were made from time to time, and some ten or twelve *skulls* were fortunately saved in fairly good condition.

My first communication was with that eminent craniologist, and our veteran member, Dr. Beddoe, who came down to Bristol immediately, visiting the site several times



PLAN OF DISCOVERIES UPON SITE OF CARMELITE FRIARY, 1904.

afterwards, and whose racy "skull problem" will follow these notes.

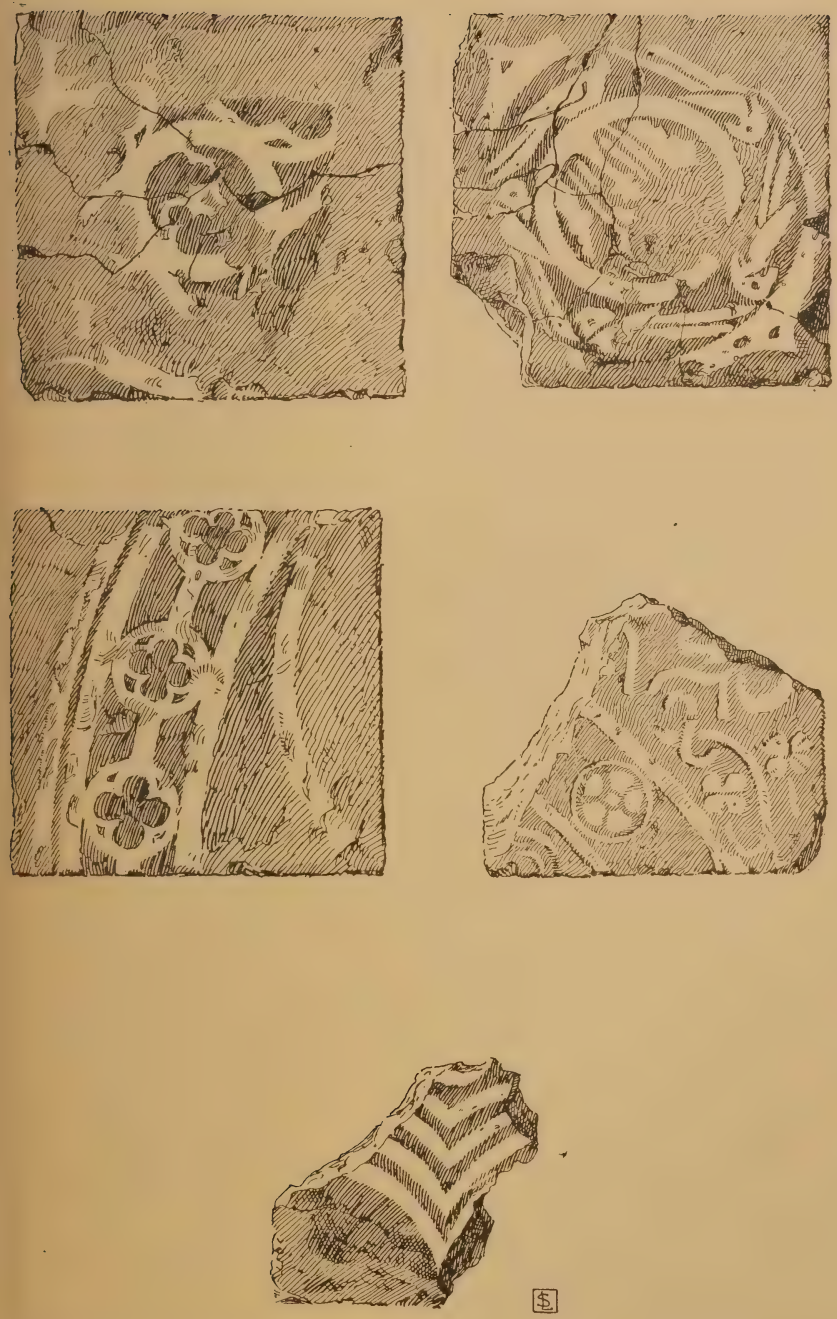
On September 16th the first traces of *old walling* came to light (see plan—Nos. 4 and 5), and a few days later some further portions were found (plan—Nos. 11, 7, and 8A). Unfortunately the walling was most fragmentary, but all was undoubtedly early mediæval masonry as proved by the mortar, which was similar in character to that found elsewhere in the old city, of a like period. And as this discovery was followed on the same day by the find of two *mediæval tiles*, yellow and green glaze, both 5 inches square; and again on the 19th of September by a further discovery of two *encaustic tiles* bearing conventional design, one being part of a set, the facts seem to indicate most conclusively that on this spot once stood the *church* of the *White Friars*.

The site of the church standing on the south-west side of the domestic buildings is mentioned in various old deeds at the Merchants' Hall, which were seen by Barrett.

Altogether nine complete tiles and sundry fragments have been discovered, though it is quite impossible to say if any were actually *in situ*, owing to previous building operations; and a small *circular brass ring* with tongue, probably a fastening for a girdle and evidently of early mediæval date, was found in the midst of one of the burials. (*See* tail piece, $\frac{3}{4}$ actual size.)

Upon the ruins of many of our monastic sites early pottery has frequently been found, shedding considerable light upon the customs of the times, and curiously enough, some fragments *were* turned up during the demolition of the "Great House"; for Owen, in his *Two Centuries of Ceramic Art*,[1] has recorded that fragments of large vessels of evident mediæval date were found on the site of the Carmelite Priory at Bristol; but no trace of these is known. It must be remembered that though sherds are often found upon the sites of domestic buildings, we should

[1] *Two Centuries of Ceramic Art in Bristol*, by Hugh Owen, 1873, p. 327.



TILES DISCOVERED UPON SITE OF CARMELITE CHURCH, 1904.

be rather unlikely to trace any in the precincts of the church.

With regard to the *history of the Order*, it may be well to note what Abbot Gasquet says in his latest work on *English Monastic Life*.[1]

He tells us that "the Carmelite Friars were so called from the place of their origin. They were also named 'White Friars,' from the colour of the cloak of their habit, and Friars of the Blessed Virgin. These friars are first heard of in the twelfth century on being driven out of Palestine by the persecution of the Saracens. Their Rule is chiefly founded on that of St. Basil, and was confirmed by Pope Honorius III. in A.D. 1224, and finally approved by Innocent IV. in 1250. They were brought into England by John Vesey and Richard Grey, and established their first houses in the north at Alnwick, and in the south at Ailesford in Kent. At the latter place the first European Chapter of the Order was held in A.D. 1245."

Of the Carmelite Friary in Bristol very little is really known, but the house appears to have been founded in the year 1267, probably by Edward I., but before he was King.

Carmel literally means "fruitful field," and the White Friars selected as the site of their house in Bristol the sunny slopes of the hill between Pipe Lane on the west to old Steep Street on the east, and from the Red Lodge to St. Augustine's Back. The Carmelites not only raised fruits and other crops for their own consumption, but, on account of the poverty of their Order, it was their custom to sell produce for their sustenance, and doubtless the site chosen here proved to be a most lucrative one.

One of the earliest references appears to be in the Close Roll of the 4th of Edward I. (1276), recording an order of the King to the Warder of the Royal Forest of Deane to give the "Friars of Mount Carmel of Bristol 10 inferior Oakes with their Strippings."

[1] *English Monastic Life*, by Abbot Gasquet, O.S.B., D.D., etc. London, 1904, p. 238.

The house here must have been well established by the middle of the fourteenth century, for in the 32nd of Edward III. (1358) the King repeated the licence which he had given already to the abbot and convent of St. Augustine, Bristol, viz. "that they may give and assign 4 messuages with the appurtenances in Bristol contiguous to the dwelling of our beloved in Christ the Prior and Brethren of the Order of Blessed Mary of Mount Carmel, in the same town of Bristol, which are not held of us as found by inquisition taken thereon at our command by our beloved Henry de Prestewode our Eschaeter in co. Gloucester, to the same Prior and Brethren to have and hold to them and their successors for the enlargement of their house forever."

To that diligent antiquary, William Wyrcestre, who saw the monastic houses in all their glory in the fifteenth century, we owe the dimensions of the priory church, and from his account we find that "the nave or body contains 45 paces (90 feet), the breadth thereof 25 paces (50 feet), the tower and spire or broche is 200 feet, and the breadth of the tower is 9 feet each way."

This appears to be the only detailed description of any of the buildings of this foundation known to exist.

Besides being an edifice of considerable importance, as may be judged by these measurements, it must have had an attractive interior to have possessed a Screen such as the one recently re-erected in our Cathedral, which has been recently described and illustrated in our *Transactions*.[1]

Barrett also tells us that the church was most elegant and spacious, with many chapels in it, and that he finds mentioned in MSS. that "many very good families lie buried therein."[2]

Leland, who was in Bristol in the sixteenth century, recorded that "the Priory of the Carmelites was the fairest of all the houses of the Friars," and also said that

[1] "The Choir Screen, Bristol Cathedral," by R. Hall Warren, F.S.A. See vol. xxvii. pp. 127–30.

[2] See also Wadley's *Book of Wills*, p. 40, No. 68.

it stood "on the right Rype of Frome over against the Key."

In a letter to Secretary Cromwell, Richard, the Suffragan Bishop of Dover, in writing of this house, said: "Yt is a goodly howse in byldenge, mete for a great man, no renttes but ther gardens. There ys a chapell and an yle off the Church, and dyverse gutteres, spowtes and condytes of lead, the rest all tylle and slate."

We must now leave the scanty details we possess of this order and pass on to July, 1538, when the house of the White Friars was visited by Richard Ingworth, Bishop of Dover, the special visitor appointed to suppress all the friaries in England. This was the first in Bristol to be given up to the king.

An inventory of the goods of the house can be seen in the Public Record Office,[1] and this shows that these had been valued at £8 2s. 11d. This did not include two copper chalices, which were retained by the visitor, and two bells which were to be sold. The document, however, tells us that of "sylver ther was non."

The house was very poor, and as the debts paid actually amounted to £8 2s. 1d., the visitor had little left for His Majesty!

Amongst the more famous of the Carmelite priors the name of John Milverton stands first.[2] He was born in Somerset and became a Bristol Carmelite, being chosen Provincial Master of the Order in England, in a general Chapter at Paris in 1456. He held office until 1465, was then excommunicated and imprisoned, but was restored in 1469, retaining the post until 1482. He died in 1487.

John Pyne was prior at Bristol in 1535, and was probably the last.

A few years after the suppression of the monasteries the Corporation purchased the Friary buildings and part of the garden ground, but within a short period the property was

[1] *Exchequer Miscellaneous Book*, No. 153 (Inventories of Friars).

[2] See Dugdale's *Monasticon*, vol. vi.

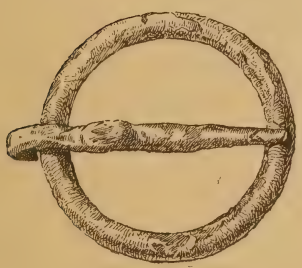
acquired by Thomas Chester, an alderman of the city, doubtless as a speculation, for the monastic buildings were soon afterwards occupied by John Yonge. This wealthy citizen becoming desirous of erecting a stately pile on the site, succeeded in purchasing the property in 1568.[1] By 1574 the "Great House" was finished, and on Queen Elizabeth visiting the city in that year, she was lodged there with all her retinue. For this the hospitable citizen was knighted by the Queen.

Another change came over the scene, for during the "Commonwealth" period—in 1654—the "Great House" was partly used as a sugar refinery. In 1708 it was bought by Edward Colston for his school[2] for boys, which was carried on until 1861, and then the charity was removed to Stapleton.

The Great House was demolished in 1863, and the Colston Hall now stands upon that site.

[1] It was probably about this date that the church was pulled down.

[2] For a view see *Bristol, Past and Present*, vol. iii., p. 136.



NOTES ON CRANIA FOUND ON THE SITE OF THE CARMELITE FRIARY.

APPENDIX TO MR. PRITCHARD'S PAPER.

By JOHN BEDDOE, M.D., LL.D., F.R.S.

It seems desirable to supplement Mr. Pritchard's paper with some somatological details concerning the human remains disinterred during the excavations which he has described. We found no bones which could have belonged to women or children, though some may have been those of young, scarcely adult males; and it may probably be taken for granted that the burials were mostly, though not solely, those of Carmelite Friars and of lay brethren or servitors attached to the monastery.

We were fortunate enough to become possessed of eight crania in very fair condition, besides three which admitted only of very partial measurement. This amount of success was due very much to the kind interest of Messrs. C. A. Hayes and Son, the contractors, and of Mr. Ashley, the clerk of the works, and I may add of the workmen employed, without whose co-operation the hurry and exigency of the work would have left us little of value.

The bodies lay roughly oriented as usual, the heads to the west, and in two or even three successive strata; they reposed on a marly rock, and were wrapt and surrounded by red marly clay, in which I at least observed no vestige of anything like a coffin. As the work proceeded from east to west, the skeletons were attacked from the feet, and this may be one reason why we acquired few unbroken long-bones, and why I am unable to say much about the stature of the subjects, except that it was of course not uniform, and that the general impression I got was that the average was not high.

On the other hand, the spade never reached a skull without notice, which made it possible for the workmen to avoid the

accidental damage which so commonly occurs when a skull is hit on unexpectedly. The facial bones, the nasal and orbital apertures, and the mandibles were secured in several cases.

The "find" is one of extreme interest in proportion to its magnitude. The leading feature is the obvious division of eight or perhaps nine of the eleven measurable skulls into two very distinct types, of which the most largely represented, including Nos. 1, 2, 4, 10 and 11, is quite uncommon in our modern population. These five are all over the average size, four of them considerably so, to a degree which renders it impossible, except very roughly, to estimate their capacity by Welcker's tables, as they are beyond their limits. These are all of fine form, brachykephalic—that is to say, very broad in proportion to their length (83.6 to 100), well filled, with good frontal development, the stephanic breadth being 129, while in the other five it is only 112; in No. 6 this measure is not practicable.

To the other type belong Nos. 3, 7 (which is, however, somewhat aberrant) and 9, and probably 8, but the last is too imperfect to be averaged with the others. These are slightly longer than the five (as 184.6 to 182.8), but very much narrower (as 135.3 to 153.6), and lower (as 130 to 140). They are also, of course, of much smaller capacity. I have not actually measured the capacity with rapeseed or any other material; but I have calculated it by nine methods, of Manouvrier's, Welcker's, Pelletier's, Karl Pearson's, Lee's, and my own; and the result is as 1,391 cubic centimetres to 1,644, on an average of the nine methods, or as 1405 to 1660 on an average of 7 of them. I myself make it 1,415 to 1,730, the capacity of the ordinary modern Englishman being, on my plan, somewhere a little below 1,500 centimetres. Now there is no reasonable doubt that cranial capacity, or intracranial area, and intellectual capacity, are in some degree related, though whereas the brain is by no means purely an intellectual organ, and whereas divers other factors, as stature, bulk, nutrition, temperament,

disease, enter into the question, such correlation may often be completely obscured. In the present case I do not think anyone would raise a doubt that we have to do with two sets of men, of whom one set were intellectually superior to the other. I conjecture with some confidence that the one set were the Friars, and that the other set of inferior grade were lay brethren or servitors of some kind.

It is noteworthy that such mediæval English crania as can be with some confidence identified as those of ecclesiastics are very apt to be brachykephalic. Ten such in Davis's *Thesaurus Craniorum* gave me a breadth-index of 81, the average of modern Englishmen being near 76 or 77. But in these two sets of Carmelite skulls we have means of 83.6 and 73.3. This latter index is not in itself of great import; it is taken from only three crania, and it must be mentioned that the other three (5, 6, 8), which did not admit of such complete measurement, but which were probably English and of good development, gave me indices averaging 77.7.

However, I think there may be sufficient basis for another conjecture. This Carmelite Friary was founded by Prince Edward, afterwards Edward I., and was one of the first of the kind in England. Now it was very common during the period of monastery-founding, which lasted two or three centuries after the Conquest, for the founders to bring over French or other foreign monks to people the new establishments. What if Edward brought over a few Burgundians or Aquitanians to Bristol for this purpose? In those parts, especially in Burgundy and Franche Comté, the modern natives have very generally broad heads of high kephalic index, though, of course, not usually of such remarkably fine development as those we are speaking of. In a paper in the *Anthropological Transactions*, "On the Mediæval Population of Bristol," I have shown that so late as Edward II.'s reign the element of it that was French by birth or pedigree was very large.

There are a number of minute details respecting these

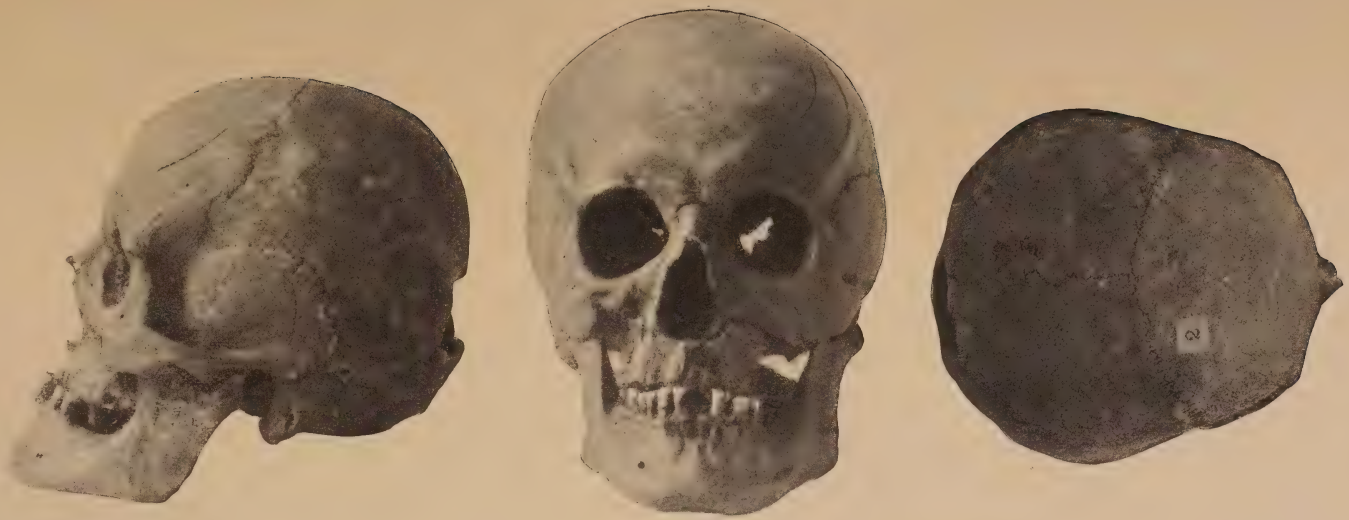
Carmelite heads, for which the pages of the *Anthropological Journal* may be more suitable than those of our *Transactions*. But I would like to direct attention to the beautiful photographs with which Mr. Pritchard's paper is illustrated, and to express the high opinion which, as an anthropologist, I entertain of Mr. Brightman's work. One is accustomed to see such things so spoiled by skewness or other defects, that this excellent work comes somewhat as a surprise. The striking difference between the two types already indicated comes out very well in the photographs. The reader must not suppose that I attribute any surpassing virtue to the broad-headed as compared with the long-headed type. The two seem to be correlated with certain virtues and defects in a somewhat obscure way; but some of the leading anthropo-sociologists, including Ammon and De Lapouge, give the preference on the whole to the dolichokephal; and, to give a clear instance near at hand, M. Muffang, at Liverpool, found that masters and foremen had longer heads than their work-people.

A table appended to this report gives a few more particulars as to measurements and capacities.

TABLE TO ILLUSTRATE PAPERS ON CARMELITE REMAINS.

No.	Length.	Breadth	Height.	Cranial Index.		Capacity. Average of 7 Processes.	NOTES. The length is glabello-maximal, the breadth maximal, the height basio-bregmatic. The processes used are Manouvrier's, Pelletier's, K. Pearson's 10 bis and G F, Beddoe's 5, Welcker's C and D.
1	180	147	135	81.66		1521	Broad, regular oval; slight prognathism; short aquiline nose, platyrhine!
2*	189	161	148	85.2		1840	Old. Sphenoid, opisthognathous. Magnificent skull: reminds one of a well-known and very able Dean of Bristol.
3*	182	134	131	73.6		1381	Low, regular ellipse. Enormous inion.
4*	181	153	135	84.5		1618	Old. Broad, regular oval. Much like No. 2, and almost as fine.
5	186	146	—	78.5	By Welcker D	1598?	Ovo-pyriform. One temporal amissing.
6	185	147	—	79.4		—	Full, regular oval; post-parietal flattening. Good Ang.-Sax. type.
7*	185	137	126	74.0		1394	Young. Sergi's Beloid, laterally parallelo-piped. Low.
8	182	137	—	75.3		1455	Oldish. Ovo-elliptic; rather high type; fine nose.
9	187	135	132	72.2		1439	Young. Oval; slightly pentagonal and prognathous. Inferior Ang.-Sax. type.
10	185	154	143	83.2		1674	Broad ellipse, fine lofty head. Mesorhine.
11	183	153	137?	83.6		1648	Very young. Ovo-elliptic, platykephalic, slightly prognathous. Some indications of disease.
				79.2	Average of 10	1564	
				73.3	Do. of 3 Dolichos	1405	
				83.6	Do. of 5 Brachys	1650	
				(3)77.7	Do. of 2 Mesos	1526?	

* See illustration.



Brightman, Photo.

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CRANIA FROM THE SITE OF THE CARMELITE FRIARY, BRISTOL, 1904.

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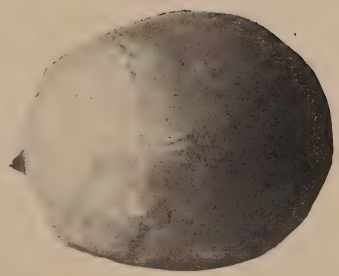

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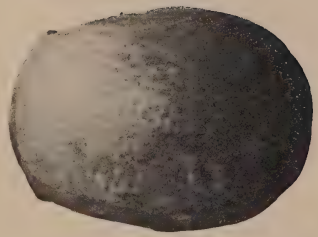

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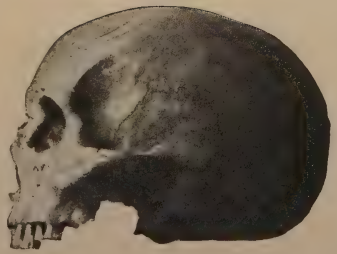

Brightman, Photo.

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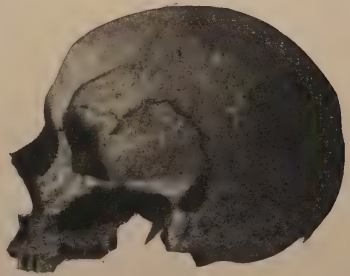

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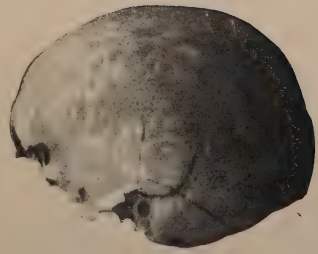

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CRANIA FROM THE SITE OF THE CARMELITE FRIARY, BRISTOL, 1904.

MONUMENTAL EFFIGIES.

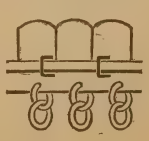
By IDA M. ROPER.

DURSLEY RURAL DEANERY.

BERKELEY CHURCH.—Dedicated to St. Mary the Virgin.

THOMAS III., 8TH LORD BERKELEY, A.D. 1361, AND WIFE.

1. Military. Knight in armour.
   Lady.
2. Recumbent effigies.
3. Alabaster.
4. Life-size. Man, 6 ft. 2 in. long; woman, 5 ft. 8 in. long.
5. The knight wears a hauberk reaching to the middle of the thighs with long sleeves, which show through the other coverings at the armpits and under the elbows. Over it is a slightly shorter sleeveless jupon, tight-fitting, and embroidered in front with the arms of the Berkeleys: "A chevron between ten crosses pattée 4.2.1.2.1.," a similar chevron being partly visible at the back. On the head is a pointed bascinet with a small camail of chain attached by a cord running through staples on the bascinet and the plate edging of the camail. The shoulders are further protected by epaulières of two plates; the arms by brassarts and vambraces of cuir bouilli, with folded guards for the elbows. The hands are restored, and are represented with gloves formed of a broad plate to the knuckles. The legs are cased in cuisses and jambs of cuir bouilli, the latter being laced up tightly on the inner side. The genouillères are of plate, very convex and



rounded, and the feet have articulated solerets of plate with rowel spurs strapped under the foot and buckled across the instep. A baudric, handsomely jewelled in quatrefoils, encircles the hips, and is buckled and knotted on the right side; to it is fastened a misericorde with fluted pommel and plain cross hilt. On the left side hangs a long sword with cross hilt and pommel of very handsome decorative Gothic work.

The hands are in the attitude of prayer, the eyes are open, the moustache drooping, and the expression restful.

The effigy of the wife shows the costume of a lady of rank in the middle of the fourteenth century. The dress consists of the surcôte or sideless gown, tight-fitting to the hips, below which it falls in graceful folds over the feet. It is hollowed out at the sides and bordered with a wide band. Beneath is visible the tight-fitting cote-hardie, low at the neck with long, tight sleeves. From the shoulders hangs a long, loose mantle to the feet, fastened across the breast by a cordon, passing through large oblong eyelet holes placed in front of each shoulder. The ends are looped up and joined together in a tassel in front.

The head-dress is a peculiar form of the reticulated: the hair is confined in a caul or network of quatrefoils forming a wide band longer than the face on either side, with a small veil falling over the neck to the shoulders.

The feet are covered with pointed shoes, visible beneath the folds of the surcôte, and the hands are bare, clasped in the attitude of prayer.

A similar head-dress is shown on the effigy of Katherine, wife of Thomas Beauchamp, 1370, in St. Mary's Church, Warwick.

6. The man's head rests on the Berkeley crest—a mitre charged with the arms; the mitre was first assumed by this lord.[1] It is suggested by Mr. A. E. Ellis that Harding, the founder of the Berkeley family, married about 1084 a niece of Maurice, afterwards Bishop of London, and that this

[1] Smyth, *Lives of the Berkeleys*, vol. i., pp. 19, 356.

connection is the origin of the adoption of a mitre as the crest.

The woman's head rests on two small tasselled pillows, the under one set diagonally. The upper one is supported by two winged angels seated, clothed in long robes fastened by a fibula, flowing curly hair and bare feet.

7. The man's feet rest on a lion couchant, and those of the woman on a greyhound with a plain collar; the head is restored and does not appear to be a form suitable to the body.

8. The effigies on their slabs are placed apart upon a wide altar-tomb 3 ft. 8 in. high. Around its upper edge is a handsome frieze of castellated Gothic work; its sides and ends are divided into four and three square panels by narrow strips of deep-blue glass. Each panel contains within a quatrefoil a shield carved with the arms without tinctures: "A chevron between ten crosses pattée 4.2.1.2.1.," BERKELEY.

9. There is no inscription.

Known to be THOMAS III., 8th Lord Berkeley, died 27th October, 1361, aged 68, and KATHERINE, his second wife, died 1385.

10. Both figures have been painted a buff colour, and on the mitre, under the man's head, there are traces of red colouring.

11. The right spur is broken off, also the lion's tail; the features of the lady are worn and the cordons of the mantle mutilated. The man's hands, the left arm and nose, the sword and dagger, have been restored, as well as the lady's hands and the dog's head. On the tomb the frieze is fragile and has been mended in several places. At the last restoration of the church in 1864 all but one of the blue strips were renewed with modern glass, and a handsome iron railing which surrounded the tomb was removed.

12. The tomb is placed under the second arcade on the south side of the nave. Lord and Lady Berkeley were buried "in a faire monument grated round with iron barrs,

[1] Smyth, *Lives of the Berkeleys*, vol. i., p. 346.

under the second Arch before the rode on the south side of the Church."[1]

13. Illustrated and described by Mrs. Bagnall-Oakeley in *Trans. B. and G. Arch. Soc.*, vol. xv., part i., p. 94 (male figure), and vol. xvi., part i., p. 118 (female figure). Engraved in Gough, *Sepulchral Monuments in Great Britain.*

14. The effigies are in good condition and well cared for.

15. Thomas III. was born in 1293 and succeeded to the title when thirty years old. Before this he was a prisoner at Pevensey Castle for some years for injury done to the king's favourites, and on the deposition of King Edward II. he was released in 1325 and had his estates given back. In 1327 King Edward II. was entrusted to him and to others as a prisoner at Berkeley Castle, and was there murdered on September 21st, 1327, in the absence of Lord Berkeley. Although blamed for negligence, no punishment was inflicted, and for about the next thirty-five years Lord Berkeley was continuously employed by King Edward III. in all sorts of high offices of State both in warfare and in Council. Altogether he went to the wars on twenty-five different occasions, and was present at both Crecy and Poictiers.

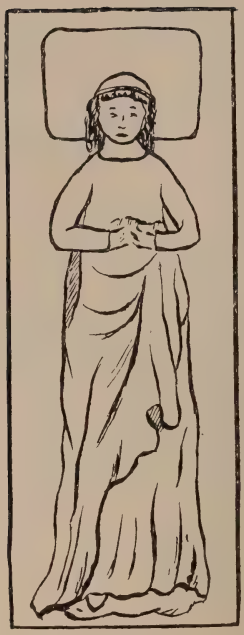
He was one of the great lords of the Berkeley family, and added much to the estates, diligently improving them whilst maintaining an expensive household. He was twice married, and out of eight sons and one daughter only two sons survived him. The second wife, Katherine, who is buried beside him, was the widow of Sir Peter le Viele, Knt., and daughter of Sir John Clivedon, Knt. She survived her husband twenty-four years, and died in 1385.[2]

THREE DIMINUTIVE FIGURES OF THE FOURTEENTH CENTURY.

1. Two ladies and a civilian.
2. Recumbent effigies.
3. Stone.

[1] Smyth, *Lives of the Berkeleys*, vol. i., p. 346.

[2] Smyth, *Lives of the Berkeleys*, vol. i., pp. 280–361.



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DIMINUTIVE FIGURES, BERKELEY CHURCH.

4. Diminutive: (*a*) 2 ft. 9 in. long; (*b*) 3 ft. 1 in. long; (*c*) 2 ft. 4 in. long.

5. (*a*) This effigy represents a woman dressed in a long, flowing gown, tight-fitting about the body, low at the neck, and with sleeves to the elbows, showing the tight sleeves of the undergarment below. The hair is long and curled into a roll above the ears. The shoes are very pointed, and are visible beneath the folds of the gown. The right hand is on the breast, and the left, hanging down, holds a small object too much mutilated to be identified.

(*b*) This effigy also represents a woman dressed in a long, flowing surcôte or sideless gown, low at the neck and gathered up under the left arm to show the full cote-hardie beneath, with its tight sleeves. The hair, curly and flowing on the shoulders, is confined by a narrow fillet. Pointed shoes are just visible beneath the cote-hardie. The raised hands held some object, which has been broken away.

(*c*) This effigy represents a man wearing a full gown to the ankles, low at the neck, with long, full sleeves. The feet are covered with tight hose and apparently no shoes. The hair is worn short and curly, and encircled by a fillet. The hands are in the attitude of prayer.

The dresses of the three figures correspond with those shown on other English effigies assigned to the latter part of the fourteenth century.

6. (*a*) The head rests on two pillows, the top one set diagonally.

(*b*) On a square pillow.

(*c*) On a small, square pillow.

7. (*a*) The feet, rather wide apart, rest on two small hounds, face to face.

(*b*) On a hound with flap-ears, the head turned outwards.

(*c*) On a dog (headless) lying stretched at full length.

8. No tomb belonging to these effigies is known, and they are placed at present on window-sills.

9. There are no inscriptions, and the figures have not been identified. No decided opinion has been formed as

to what meaning should be attached to these and other diminutive effigies—whether they represent children or adults, or are placed over the heart or other portions of a body buried beneath.[1] The latter idea is not likely to apply to these instances, as the figures represent a civilian and two women placed in the church of a great baron's home. As no traces of their tombs are known, we are perhaps justified in regarding them as memorials of honoured retainers or collateral branches of the Berkeley family, who were thus commemorated by diminutive figures, such as were erected elsewhere up to the end of the fourteenth century.

In the church there is a monument of Thomas III., 8th Lord Berkeley, and his second wife, Katherine, who died in 1361 and 1385 respectively, and Smyth records that "in the south window over against the said monument are the pictures or monuments of their three sons, who died young."[2] But this would appear to refer to paintings of them on the glass of the window, and not to these three small effigies, since two of them are undoubtedly dressed as women.

10. The effigies have been covered with many coats of paint, which are now peeling off.

11. (*a*) Article in the left hand worn away.

(*b*) Features worn and the article between the hands gone.

(*c*) Features worn and the dog's head broken off.

12. Placed on three window-sills on the south side of the church.

13. Engraved in Gough, *Sepulchral Monuments in Great Britain*, and in Bigland, *Gloucestershire;* referred to by Mrs. Bagnall-Oakeley in *Trans. B. and G. Arch. Soc.*, vol. xv., part i., p. 95.

14. The figures are fairly well preserved.

15. See No. 9 above.

[1] Gough, *Sepulchral Monuments*, part i., p. xcix.; *Jour. of Archæol. Institute*, vol. iii., p. 239; *Trans. B. and G. Arch. Soc.*, vol. xv., part i. p. 96.

[2] Smyth, *Lives of the Berkeleys*, vol. i., p. 357.

JAMES I., 11TH LORD BERKELEY, A.D. 1463, AND SON.

1. Military.

2. Recumbent effigies.

3. The tomb and figures are of alabaster, the canopy of freestone.

4. The father life-size, 6 ft. 2 in. long; the son diminutive, 4 ft. 10 in. There are a few other instances known of two men on the same tomb, and it is thought that the difference in age of the father and son is shown by the difference in the size of the figures.

5. The father wears a complete suit of plate-armour with a skirt of chain mail, the escalloped edge of which is visible on the thighs. The body is encased in a breastplate strapped to a backplate, buckled to which by three straps is a narrow skirt of taces with four tuilles also buckled. Over all is a tabard with short flap sleeves. This is open at the sides and shown loosely tied on the right with two points or aiguillettes; it bears the arms of Berkeley: "A chevron between ten crosses pattée 4.2.1.2.1.," embroidered on the front and flaps.

The throat is protected by a gorget of plate having a rim of studs; the arms by brassarts and vambraces of plate; and the elbows by heart-shaped coudes, secured by two sets of large aiguillettes or arming points passing through eyelet holes.

The hands are restored and are represented with gloves formed of a broad-pointed plate over the back of the hand, and pointed cuffs. The cuisses are diagonally fluted in the manner usual at the time and are made wider by pieces of plate hinged to the outer edge, of such a width as would just reach to the saddle when the knight was mounted. The cuisses are strapped at the thighs on the inner side, and the hinged portions illustrate how armour was made suitable for riding on horseback, whilst keeping protected any portion of the leg not covered. At the knees are heart-shaped pointed genouillères, and jambs, hinged and strapped on the legs, meet pointed solerets with ridged articulations. The spurs

(broken) are strapped under the foot and buckled across the instep, the straps being decorated with three roses.

A very narrow girdle encircles the waist, and from it on the left side hangs straight down a narrow belt decorated with roses, to which is attached a long sheathed sword, with depressed cross-hilt fluted pommel and beautifully engraved scabbard. On the right side, resting on the slab and not attached, is a square-topped misericorde with fluted pommel.

Round the neck is worn a handsome broad Yorkist collar of alternate suns and roses, with a swivel pendant of the white Lion of March, the badge of Edward IV. The knight is represented bareheaded with long straight hair to the shoulders, being an example of a fashion only just introduced. The eyes are open and the expression suggests a man of strong character. The hands are raised in the attitude of prayer.

The effigy of the son shows him dressed in a like manner to the father, but the arms on the tabard are differenced with a label of three points, the Yorkist collar is smaller, the hair is worn in curls of varying lengths to the shoulders, and the face is youthful.

6. Both heads rest on tilting helms, the visors closed with slits for eyes and mouth, and side plates. They are surmounted by the crest—a plain mitre—and encircled by the mantling with tasselled ends.

7. The heels of both figures rest against a lion couchant and the toes against the tail poised erect.

8. The effigies are placed upon a very high altar-tomb, under what is termed a Berkeley arched canopy, and its four sides are adorned with numerous figures.

The side on the north contains a row of four canopied niches with figures about a foot high standing on small pedestals.

From the right :—

(1) A saint in flowing gown and mantle, with long curly hair and turban, holding in her left hand a martyr's palm branch, in her right an article (unidentified).

(2) St. Paul in flowing garments, long hair and short beard, holding a long staff in the right hand and a strapped book in the left.

(3) St. Mark similarly dressed with a winged lion standing at his feet. The hands broken off.

(4) A bishop in plain mitre, amice, dalmatic and chasuble, holding a pastoral staff in his left hand.

Between the niches are four square panels with quatrefoils containing shields pendent from a four-leaved flower, emblazoned with the Berkeley arms differenced with a label of three points.

Above and below are fine hollow mouldings, containing at distances an acorn and leaf on a twig.

The side on the south is of greater depth, because it reaches to a lower level. Accordingly it is divided into two rows, the top one containing seven niches with figures under beautiful ogee-shaped canopies, separated by pinnacles, and the under one seven panels with figures separated by shields within quatrefoils.

Top row, from the right:—

(1) The Virgin Mary, enthroned and crowned in flowing robes and long hair, holding the Holy Child (head gone) on her right knee.

(2) Angel in alb and falling hood, holding a shield charged with the Berkeley arms.

(3) A saint in gown, kirtle and long hair, holding a palm leaf in her left hand and a book with a bird (headless) perched on it in her right.

(4) A bishop in mitre, dalmatic and chasuble, with a large tasselled gypcière slung over the left shoulder, holding a staff (mutilated) in the left hand, and a strapped book in the right.

(5) Similar to No. 2.

(6) St. George in full plate armour, with a huge cross-hilt sword in a belt and a dagger, standing on the dragon and striking it with a long battleaxe, held by both hands diagonally from left to right.

Under row:—

(1) St. Christopher with the Holy Child (head gone) on his left shoulder, and a tree trunk in his right hand for a staff.

(2) A shield with the Berkeley arms pendent from a four-leaved flower.

(3) A bishop in mitre, dalmatic and chasuble, holding a pastoral staff and a book (mutilated).

(4) St. Peter in flowing garments, holding the keys in his left hand and a strapped book in his right.

(5) Similar to No. 2.

(6) St. John the Baptist in flowing garments, holding the Holy Lamb (headless) within the left arm.

(7) Similar to Nos. 2 and 5.

The ends of the tomb are almost hidden, but they appear to be alike and are divided into niches with figures. A bishop with a crozier and an angel holding a shield in the top row, and a bishop and a pendent shield on the lower.

The canopy above the tomb on the north side is divided into twelve tall narrow panels with handsome canopied work. Each contains a bracket, but there are no figures.

Above is a frieze of ducal leaves, alternating large and small, and the arch is cusped and finished with trefoils, and a row of small ball flowers, with spandrels of foliage. For protection the space below the arch has been shut in by a sheet of glass.

On the south side the canopy has thirteen canopied niches without figures, divided by decorated pinnacles; they start direct from the arch, and there are no spandrels or frieze. The vaulting is diamond-shaped, without bosses at the intersections.

9. There is no inscription.

Known to be JAMES I., 11th Lord Berkeley, died 1463, aged 69, and JAMES BERKELEY,[1] his second son, died 1450.

10. There is no sign of painting. Smyth (p. 83) states the points of the son's label on the shields were sable, as though tinctured in his time.

[1] Smyth, *Lives of the Berkeleys*, vol. ii., pp. 83, 95.

11. The dagger of the larger figure is broken and the spurs are gone. Both pairs of hands and the noses have been restored, as also the swords. Some of the details on the figures on the tomb are broken, and in each case the head of the Holy Child is missing.

12. The tomb is placed under an arch on the south side of the high altar leading into the Berkeley Chapel, which is a foot or so below the level of the chancel.

13. Illustrated and described by Mrs. Bagnell-Oakeley in *Trans. B. and G. Arch. Soc.*, vol. xv., part i., p. 99.

Tomb and effigies engraved in Gough's *Sepulchral Monuments in Great Britain.*

14. The effigies are in excellent condition, and the figures on the tomb are wonderfully preserved.

15. James I., 11th Lord Berkeley, was nephew of Thomas IV., and succeeded in 1417 to the property, only after much dispute, being then about 23 years old. Till his death in 1463 he was occupied in a continuous series of disputes about the ownership of lands, which kept him in poverty and prevented his entering into any military employment. He was thrice married, having by his second wife Isable, eldest daughter of the Duke of Norfolk, four sons and three daughters. He died in November, 1463, aged 69 years. James, his second son, was slain in France about July, 1452, aged about 20 years and unmarried. His place of burial is unknown.[1]

HENRY I., 17TH LORD BERKELEY, A.D. 1613, AND WIFE.

1. Military. Knight in armour.
   Lady.
2. Recumbent effigies.
3. The figures and canopy of alabaster, the tomb of freestone.
4. Life-size. Man, 6 ft. long; woman, 5 ft. 9 in. long.
5. The knight is encased in a breastplate with tapul,

[1] Smyth, *Lives of the Berkeleys*, vol. ii., pp. 41–96.

buckled to a backplate, and the shoulders are protected by large pauldrons strapped on the top, and thus showing that the shoulder blades were covered only by the epaulières. On the arms are hinged brassarts, vambraces, and pointed coudes, secured by hook and staple. To the breastplate are fastened by buckle and strap two tassets with almayne rivets, strapped over bombasted trunk hose, and below, the legs are in ridged cuisses, rounded genouillères decorated with a small rose and hinged jambs, meeting laminated square-toed solerets with rowel spurs fastened to the heels. Round the throat is a gorget of overlapping plates, above it a small fluted ruff of three folds, and at the wrists narrow ruffles. The hands are restored, and are shown in gloves formed of a broad-pointed plate over the back of the hand. All the armour has an escalloped edge, and is profusely engraved, which gives a very handsome effect. A narrow girdle is buckled round the waist, and hooked to it on the left side are the hangers of four wide straps kept in place by a narrow diagonal belt hooked on the right. Fastened to the hangers is a long sword resting on the slab with curved hilt and rounded guard.

The hair is long and curly, the beard small, and the moustache long and drooping. It is stated to be a good portrait of Lord Berkeley.[1] The hands are raised in prayer.

The lady is dressed in the robes of a peeress, such as would be worn on State occasions. She wears a loose gown to the feet, edged with a band of embroidered scrollwork and narrow fringe. The sleeves are gathered full at the shoulders but tight at the wrist, where they end in small ruffles; the bodice is tight-fitting with a stomacher ending in a peak below the waist and closely buttoned down the centre; it is encircled by a small jewelled belt, the end hanging straight to the knees and ending in a large pendant. Over it is worn a State mantle, doubled from the neck to the elbow with fur, and the front thrown open to show a lining of fur. It is

[1] Smyth, *Lives of the Berkeleys*, vol. ii., p. 407.

fastened high in the neck to a jewelled fermail by very long cordons ending in huge tassels.

Above the mantle is a large single-fold ruff, and across the shoulders is worn a massive chain of raised jewelled medallions linked together. The hair is arranged in a mass of small curls on the temples, and confined by a Paris hood with a coronal of twisted design. Over it is placed a small baron's chaplet—a plain band of gold decorated with roses and pearls or silver balls. It was not till the time of Charles II. that barons were permitted to wear the present coronet.

The feet are in pointed shoes with thick soles, and the hands are raised in prayer.

This is also stated to be a portrait of the Lady Katherine.

6. Under the man's head and shoulders is a large full cushion, decorated with a band of scrollwork and tassels. Under the woman's head and shoulders is a large tasselled cushion covered with embroidery.

7. The man's feet rest against the crest—a mitre standing on end charged with the Berkeley arms; from it hang long fringed infulæ. The woman's feet rest on a lion couchant.

8. The effigies rest on a high altar-tomb within a semi-circular arcade, under a straight cornice supported by two slender Corinthian pillars, the whole surmounted by the coat of arms and crest. At the back of the recess there is an inscription on an oblong tablet within a frame of scrollwork and bosses.

The front of the tomb is divided into four tricusped panels containing shields, charged with arms, but without tinctures.

The heraldry is as follows:—

On small shields in front of tomb. 1: "A chevron between ten crosses pattée, 4.2.1.2.1," BERKELEY. 2: "A bend between six crosses croslet fitchy, 2.1.1.2," HOWARD. 3: "A lion rampant," MOWBRAY. 4: "A lion rampant ducally crowned," SEGRAVE.

On escutcheon. Quarterly of twelve. 1, "Gules a chevron between ten crosses pattée, 4.2.1.2.1, argent," BERKELEY. 2, "Gules three lions of England, a label of as many points argent," BROTHERTON. 3, "Gules a lion rampant argent," MOWBRAY. 4, "Azure semée of crosses croslet, a lion rampant or," BREAUS OF GOWER. 5, "Sable a lion rampant argent" (really, crowned or), SEGRAVE. 6, "Quarterly or and gules a bend of the second," BEAUCHAMP, BARON OF BEDFORD. 7, "Barry of six or and gules," FITZALLEYN. 8, "Gules a lion rampant or," ARUNDEL. 9, "Azure three garbs or," BLUNDEVILLE. 10, "Chequy or and azure," WARREN. 11, "Gules an inescutcheon of France within an orle of lions of England." Really, "Azure semée de lys or within a bordure gules charged with eight lions of England," for PLANTAGENET. 12, "Or a bend lozengy gules," (Papworth) PINCKNEY. Query, wrong blazon for "Gules a bend lozengy or," MARSHALL. Crest on ducal helmet with heavy mantling and wreath: A mitre argent with labels and garnished or charged with arms of Berkeley. Supporters: Two lions argent, the sinister ducally crowned (gules), collared and chained or. Motto: *Dieu avec nous.*

9. The inscription on mural tablet is:—

"Here lyeth the Body of Sir Henry Berkeley, Knight ant
Lord Berkeley, Mowbray, Segrave and Bruse Lord Lieuten
Of the County of Glouc., who departed this Life the 26 Day
Of November, in the yeare of our Lord God 1613 being the
Day that he accomplished the Age of Fowerscore Yeares.
He first maryed Katherine, Sister to Thomas Howard, Duke
Of Norfolke, by whom he had Yssue Thomas, Mary and
Frances. Thomas beinge a Knight of the Bathe, maried
Carey Knight, Lord Hunsdon. Mary, the eldest Daughter,
Was maried unto Sir John Zouche Knight, & Frances
the second Daughter was maried unto Sir
George Shirley, Baronet.
Hee secondly maried Jane, the Widowe of Sir Roger
Townsend Knight yet lyving by whom he had no Issue."

Sir HENRY BERKELEY died November 26th, 1613, in his 80th year.

KATHERINE, his first wife, died April 7th, 1596, aged 58.

At the time the tomb was erected there were placed close by the kneeling effigies of the three children mentioned above. These may have been on a small mural monument near the head, but all traces of them have disappeared. On a window-sill in the same chapel there is, however, at the present time an unattached diminutive figure of a kneeling woman carved in white alabaster similar to the effigies, and this is likely to be the remains of the figure of one of the daughters. See page 163.

The existence of the monument to the three children is mentioned in a manuscript written in 1634 (British Museum, Lansdowne Collection, No. 213, pp. 319-348) and is quoted in *Gloucestershire Notes and Queries*, 1887, p. 365.

10. The escutcheon only is painted.

11. Both effigies are chipped in a few places; the belt and hangers are mutilated, also the lady's jewelled belt. The baron's hands have been restored.

12. Placed in a recess at the east end of the Berkeley Chapel, which is on the south side of the chancel.

13. Illustrated and referred to by Mrs. Bagnall-Oakeley, *Trans. B. and G. Arch. Soc.*, vol. xv., part i., p. 100 (male figure); vol. xvi., part i., p. 123 (female figure). Tomb described in Bigland, *Gloucestershire*, vol. i., p. 159.

14. The effigies are in very good condition.

15. Henry I., 17th Lord Berkeley, was born in 1534, being a posthumous child, and obtained his name from King Henry VIII., his godfather. For the first half of his long life he lived in a very expensive manner, much crippling his fortune, and at all times seems to have been delighted to be at law with his neighbours or rivals. Although he got rid by sale of a number of the manors belonging to the family, he was successful in recovering Berkeley Castle and the lands of his barony of Berkeley that had become alienated from his predecessors for sixty-one years. His first wife, whose effigy rests by the side of his own, was Katherine, third daughter of Henry

Howard, styled Earl of Surrey, and son of Thomas, Duke of Norfolk. His second wife, who survived him, was Jane, widow of Sir Roger Townsend, and daughter of Sir Michael Stanhope, of Shelford, Notts.

The Lady Katherine, who died in 1596, aged 58, was buried at St. Michael's, Coventry.[1]

AN UNKNOWN LADY OF THE EARLY SEVENTEENTH CENTURY.

1. Lady.
2. Kneeling effigy, now separated from its monument.
3. White alabaster.
4. Diminutive.
5. The figure wears the dress of the beginning of the seventeenth century. A full gown over a modified farthingale falls round the feet, the bodice is tight-fitting with a wide-pointed stomacher, closely buttoned down the centre, to which is fastened a short, full flounce, falling over the hips. The sleeves are padded at the shoulders and turned back at the wrists with plain cuffs, and about the waist is a narrow girdle of round beads. Over the shoulder is a long mantle falling behind in flat folds, the lower corners, edged with beading, are turned back over the feet to show the plain inner lining. There are traces of a big ruff with the tying cords and aiglets, but the head has been sawn off. The arms are raised in the attitude of prayer. (Hands broken off.)
7. The figure is kneeling on a cushion with cording.
8. This solitary figure belonged probably to a mural monument, of which no traces now exist.
9. There is no inscription. It is probable the person represented is either Mary or Frances, daughters of Sir Henry Berkeley and Lady Katherine, his wife. It is known from a MS. written in 1634 that the figures of these two ladies with their brother were erected kneeling by their parents' tomb, and additional identification is obtained from the larger figures, being portraitures in "white alabaster."[2]

[1] Smyth, *Lives of the Berkeleys*, vol. ii., pp. 266–275, 382.

[2] *Gloucestershire Notes and Queries*, 1887, p. 365.

10. There is no sign of painting.

11. The head and left side have been sawn off, and a portion of the drapery on the right. Both hands are gone.

12. Placed temporarily on the sill of the south-west window of the Berkeley Chapel, which is on the south side of the chancel.

13. No illustration or description known.

14. The remnant of this well-sculptured figure is well cared for.

15. The inscription on the tomb of Sir Henry Berkeley shows into what families his two daughters married. See page 160.

BEVERSTON CHURCH.—Dedicated to St. Mary the Virgin.

SARAH SHIPWAY, A.D. 1705.

1. Lady.

2. Bust in high relief.

3. Stone.

4. About half life-size.

5. The face represents a young woman with long curly hair falling to the shoulders. The neck and throat are bare.

8. The bust is placed on the top of an oblong mural tablet with frame and inscription, and is overshadowed on either side by a cherub's head with outstretched wings. The sides of the tablet are adorned with scrollwork, and below is a Death's-head crowned with laurel leaves.

9. Inscription in centre of slab (nearly defaced):—

> "In memorie of Sarah the daughter of John Shipway and Katherine his wife who departed this life May . . A.D. 1705. Ætat 22. In memory of John Shipway who departed this life May . . A.D. 1711. . . . . In memory of Katherine, wife of aforesaid John Shipway, who departed this life Jan. 29, A.D. 1718, ætat 51."

SARAH SHIPWAY, died 1705, aged 22.

10. The hair of the cherubs is painted black, as is also the background of the inscription.

11. The inscription is becoming illegible. The bust is not mutilated.

12. Placed against the west wall over a Norman doorway leading into the vestry.

13. No illustration or description known.

14. In fairly good condition.

15. About 1640 the Castle of Beverston passed into the occupation of a farmer named Nicholas Shipway, and no doubt this Sarah Shipway was a descendant of the same family still occupying a portion of the broken-down castle.

There is a rudely-sculptured figure in relief placed high up on the south wall on the outside of the tower.

Bigland (vol. i., p. 177) considers it to be an ecclesiastic and part of a sepulchral monument. The present rector, however, regards it as purely decorative, and is satisfied that it is a representation of the Risen Christ.

DURSLEY CHURCH.—Dedicated to St. James.

CADAVER.

1. Male cadaver.

2. Recumbent figure.

3. Freestone.

4. Life-size, 6 ft. long.

5. The figure represents a well-developed man lying on his open shroud in the first stages of decay, the naked muscles being apparent. The arms are straight at the sides, keeping down the cloth. This may be an interesting example of a cadaver erected in memory of a civilian: such are not common, the majority representing ecclesiastics.

6. The head being missing, it is not known on what it rested.

7. The feet rest on the slab only.

8. There is no tomb, and the slab with the effigy is built into a shallow niche high in the wall, having a backing of three panels with ogee tricusped arches and a window above. On the outer edge of the slab are the remains of three plain bases of pillars belonging to the original tomb. In Bigland, *Gloucestershire*, p. 513 (published 1791), there is a drawing which shows the headless figure was on a low altar-tomb on the ground, under a flat, oblong canopy supported by four moulded arches.

9. Inscription on a small leaden tablet let into the slab where the head rested (now illegible):—

"This vault (in which the remains of Tanner, Founder of this Chapple were deposited) was opened and his bones collected and preserved in this place by W. F. Sharpnell Surgeon Anno 1789.

"James Webster Archdeac of Glo'ster
Rector . 1789."[1]

Supposed to be THOMAS TANNER, died after 1432.

From the above inscription it is clear that Thomas Tanner was considered in 1789 to be the founder of a chantry chapel dedicated to the Holy Trinity, and situated on the south side of the church. From Fuller's *Worthies* it appears that a "Thomas Tanner of Dursoleye" (Dursley) was a magistrate in 1432, and on the parapet outside of the chapel there exists at the present time a shield, having on it a merchant's mark – the letter pierced by a cross croslet fitchée, which may have reference to a chief founder bearing that initial (? Thomas Tanner).

The architecture of the chapel is late Perpendicular, thus showing that it was built about the end of the fifteenth century, and the carving of two Tudor roses on the parapet outside, near the merchant's mark, gives additional evidence for the same period. There is thus a space of about sixty years between the date when Thomas Tanner is known to have been

[1] J. H. Blunt, *Dursley and its Neighbourhood*, p. 71.

alive and the date of the building, and it is difficult to know how to bridge over these years. The difficulty is not made less by the fact that at the end of a further sixty years the founder was unknown, as is shown by the chantry certificates in 1548, which declare "Trynyte Service founded by dyverce psons not knowen," although the churchwardens' accounts refer to it at that time as "Tanner's Chapel."[1]

On the other hand, from deeds now existing, it appears that in 1494 a certain house in Dursley was vested with feoffees of the church, and Bigland (1791) states that tradition reports it to have been the gift of Thomas Tanner.[2] If this were true we may presume Thomas Tanner died at a ripe age about 1494, and may by his will have given the house and left money to endow the chapel in which he was buried.

10. There is no sign of painting.

11. The head is broken off at the neck and both arms at the elbows. Only traces of the canopy are left.

12. Placed on a window-sill in the east end of the south aisle.

13. Illustrated in Bigland, *Gloucestershire*.

14. The effigy is in very fair condition.

15. The only mention of Thomas Tanner is as above.

FRAMPTON-ON-SEVERN CHURCH.—Dedicated to St. Mary.

A MEMBER OF THE CLIFFORD FAMILY, ABOUT A.D. 1300.

1. Military. Knight in armour.

2. Recumbent effigy, cross-legged below the knee.

3. Freestone.

4. Life-size, 6 ft. 3 in. long.

5. The knight is enveloped in a suit of chain mail. A hauberk reaches to the middle of the thighs with long sleeves

[1] *Trans. B. and G. Arch. Soc.*, vol. xi., pp. 192, 243.

[2] *Trans. B. and G. Arch. Soc.*, vol. xiii., part i., p. 18.

covering the hands and divided at the fingers. The coif de mailles is not continuous with it, but is in the form of a flat circular cap, laced to it above the ears, although the method is not shown. Underneath the hauberk is a quilted haketon which shows above the knees, and is slightly cut up. Chausses of mail cover the legs and feet, with straps buckled on the instep and passing under the foot, to which are attached prick-spurs (broken off); at the knees are small kneecaps, probably of cuir bouilli. Over all is worn a long flowing surcoat, sleeveless, folded about the body and cut open below. It is girdled at the waist by a very narrow cingulum, and below, passing across the hips, is a broad sword-belt, buckled on the left side, with a long plain cross-hilt sword fastened to it. Borne upright on the left arm is a heater-shaped shield, with armorial bearings, fastened to a narrow guige passing round the neck. The shield has been built into the wall, so only a portion of the Clifford arms—"chequy (or and azure)"—is visible. The left hand holds the scabbard and the right rests on the top of the pommel.

6. The head rests on a small oblong pillow.

7. The feet rest on a dog lying down and facing the knight.

8. The effigy is placed on a low altar-tomb built into a shallow, cusped recess, with a plain stone background.

9. There is no inscription.

Supposed to be a member of the CLIFFORD FAMILY.

The armour clearly shows the figure belongs to the very early years of the fourteenth century, because by about 1320 the chain mail was strengthened by plates of metal, or cuir bouilli, on the arms and legs, whereas there is no trace of such plates on the present effigy. It is not possible to decide what member of the Clifford family is represented; but if it could be traced that one of them was connected by marriage with the family of de Malton, that would probably give a clue to the identification. In an adjoining recess is an effigy of a lady, with which is associated the arms of Clifford and

de Malton,[1] but there is no proof the two figures represent man and wife, or were in any way related.

The church was consecrated in 1315, having been built by Robert FitzPayn, who died in 1316. He had married about 1288 Isabel Clifford. Her father, Sir John Clifford, died in 1299, and her brother, Richard Clifford, the head of the family, died about 1305 without children living. The effigy might represent one of these near relatives.

Bigland considered William Clifford, died 1321, to be the person represented. He, however, does not state his reasons, and was writing nearly 500 years after. This William Clifford was a grandson of Henry Clifford, who belonged to a younger branch of the family, whilst the above-mentioned Isabel was descended from the elder line of the Cliffords "of Frampton." He was thus only a distant relative of the founder of the church, and it is not apparent why he should have a monument therein, especially when he died about twenty years after the period to which the armour of this effigy belongs.[2]

10. The rings of mail are no longer represented, that part of the effigy having been originally made of "gesso," and become worn off from the cleanings of the figure.

11. The features are much worn. The spurs, the top of the left foot, and the dog's tail are gone. The lower edge of the shield is broken off. The left side of the figure is built into the wall, and the arch of the recess is modern.

12. Placed in the western recess of the north wall of the chapel in the north aisle.

13. No illustration or description known.

14. The effigy is in fairly good preservation, but neglected.

15. The family of Clifford received the manor of Frampton-on-Severn from William the Conqueror, and continued to hold it through younger sons down to 1303. The head of this branch, Sir Hugh Clifford, died in 1254, and his granddaughter Isabel married Robert FitzPayn, and to him the

[1] Bigland, *Gloucestershire*, vol. i., p. 195.

[2] Smyth, *Lives of the Berkeleys*, vol. i., p. 189.

property passed by purchase in 1304. Henry Clifford, a younger brother of Sir Hugh, bought other land at Frampton about 1275, and through his line the Cliffords of Frampton were continued for many generations.[1]

A MEMBER OF THE CLIFFORD FAMILY ABOUT A.D. 1310.

1. Lady.
2. Recumbent effigy.
3. Freestone.
4. Life-size, 6 ft. 1 in. long.
5. The lady wears a long loose gown, plain above the waist, and falling in long flowing folds over the feet. The sleeves are tight to the wrists, and appear to have falling sleeves from the elbows, but they quickly become blended with the folds of the gown. Over the shoulders is worn a long mantle fastened by a cordon, now hardly visible. The neck and chin are covered with a wimple, raised on either side of the face to the ears, and there slightly distended to show the hair. A veil falls in graceful folds over the forehead and backwards to below the shoulders. The hands are raised in prayer.
6. The head rests on two pillows—the lower one oblong, the upper one square and set diagonally.
7. The feet probably rested on a dog, but they are built into the wall, and the animal cannot be identified.
8. The effigy is placed on a low altar-tomb, built into a shallow arched recess with a plain stone background. On the outside, above the arch, there are two plain shields without arms. Bigland gives them bearing the coats of Clifford and de Malton.[2]
9. There is no inscription. Supposed to be a daughter of the de Malton family and the wife of a member of the Clifford family, whose effigy lies in the adjoining recess. Bigland considers her to be CATHERINE DE MALTON, wife of

[1] Atkyns, *Gloucestershire*, p. 230. Smyth, *Lives of the Berkeleys*, vol. i., p. 189.

[2] Bigland, *Gloucestershire*, vol. i., p. 595.

William Clifford, died about 1321, but this seems incorrect. (See page 167.)

The de Malton arms—"Argent a cross voided gules"—having been on the tomb and marshalled together with the Clifford's coat, it looks as if there were an alliance at some time between the two families, but a marriage is not thereby certain. In the same way, in the east window of Frampton Church, of four shields, one bears the arms of Clifford and another of de Malton. These are the reasons why a marriage between the two families is thought probable, but so far no alliance or marriage has been traced.[1]

10. There is no sign of painting.

11. The features are very much worn; the fingers and part of the hands are gone; the left elbow and feet are built into the wall.

12. Placed in the eastern recess of the north wall, under a window of the chapel in the north aisle.

13. No illustration or description known.

14. The figure is much more worn than the corresponding male one, and is neglected.

15. Nothing is known of the person represented.

NORTH NIBLEY CHURCH.—Dedicated to St. Martin.

GRACE SMYTH, A.D. 1609.

1. Lady.

2. Kneeling effigy.

3. Stone with alabaster columns.

4. Diminutive.

5. The figure wears a very full skirt, reaching to the feet over a moderate farthingale, and it is thrown open to show a plain kirtle. The bodice with its closely-buttoned stomacher is tight-fitting and has a narrow frill fastened to it by a bead edging. The sleeves with narrow epaulets are padded and end in small turn-back cuffs. From the shoulders hangs

[1] Bigland, *Gloucestershire*, vol. i., p. 595.

a full mantle with a square collar, surmounted by a big three-fold ruff, below which is a necklace of beads passed twice round the neck. The hair is curly and confined by a Paris hood and coronal, with the veil turned upwards and projecting over the forehead. The eyes are open and the arms are raised in the attitude of prayer. (Hands broken off.) The features are those of a middle-aged woman, and are probably a portrait.

7. The figure kneels on a square cushion with tassels and cording.

8. A high mural monument with narrow-arched canopy, the vaulting divided into squares with roses in the centre. The canopy is supported by two Corinthian pillars resting on plinths and corbels and bearing a plain architrave. Above there are three shields without arms.

9. Inscription on oblong slab beneath the figure:—

"Here before in this isle resteth the body of Grace Smyth Daughter and heire of William Thomas and of Alice his wife Daughter of Richard Hill all of them being descended of worshipevil famylies, which Grace was first the wife of John Drewe Esqr. and afterwards for the space of twelve yeares and 35 dayes the wife of John Smyth Gent. in memory of whose vert Life, lovinge obedience to both her said husbands and of her voluntary leavinge this life the IX day of November 1609 with a longinge desire to bee with Christ, the said John Smyth hath erected this monument desirous thereby to make perpetual the memoryail of her vertues."

GRACE SMYTH, died 1609.

10. The features and ruff are painted white, and the rest of the figure and the cushion black. The corbels, lower edge of the inscribed slab, and two bosses on the architrave are black, the rest cream-coloured.

11. The hands are broken off.

12. Placed against the south wall of the south aisle.

13. No illustration is known.

14. The effigy is in very fair condition.

15. Beyond the particulars given in her epitaph little

is known of Grace Smyth. Interest centres round the effigy largely on account of her second husband, John Smyth, the historian of the Berkeley family. After studying at the Temple, John Smyth in 1596 became steward of the household of the Berkeleys, and in the following year was appointed to the much more important position of steward of the hundred of Berkeley. Thereupon, on October 5th, 1597, he married Grace, the well-dowered widow of John Drewe, Esq., of North Nibley, at which place they lived until her death in 1609. She had no children.[1]

NOTE.—The illustrations belonging to this paper will be issued with the second part of the volume.

[1] Smyth, *Lives of the Berkeleys*, vol. i., p. 4.

CERTAIN ROMAN REMAINS AT WATERCOMBE, NEAR BISLEY.

By St. CLAIR BADDELEY.

Either in 1799 or a year or two later (it is reported by Lysons), in a place between Painswick and Bisley, and called "Custom Scrubs," were found two small votive stone tablets (anaglyphs) shaped like the front elevation of a temple, and each containing an upright male figure, carved in relief, facing the spectator.[1]

The exact spot was in a stone quarry that had eaten into the side of a steep tongue of land which there ends (overlooking and commanding one of the most beautiful scenes in Gloucestershire, the head and body of the Slad valley) in a grassy platform, still called "Roman Tump." The nature of these discoveries renders it probable that this fine platform may have been crowned with a local sanctuary or Romano-British temple. In the side of the coombe at its foot rises a lonely chapel of the Methodists, the present representative of local religion, and a ruined seventeenth-century lodge (? keeper's), called 'The Mill.'

The two tablets are of similar dimensions, measuring 19 in. high by 14 in. wide. They are not made of the local lias, but of fine-grained Bath stone.

Another, but inferior, example from the same place is in Cirencester Museum.[2] This later specimen was found in 1851. It measures eighteen inches in height. In it a warrior holds his shield high, covering his left shoulder and side. His spear is in his right hand, slanting. No other Roman remains (with the exception of some coins), such as tesseræ or pottery, are recorded to have since been found

[1] Cf. *Reliquiæ Brit. Rom.*, par. 2, table 28, figs. 5, 7.

[2] A warrior bearing his shield.

thereabouts nearer than at Bisley itself, or a full mile away.[1]

In 1845, having been acquired by Mr. T. Baker, he took these tablets, together with certain other remains found at Oakridge (Church-Piece), and building at Watercombe, near his residence, a fancy summer-house, he set them into the south wall thereof, at about seven feet above the ground. At that time, or perhaps before it, they suffered grave indignities. The carved edges had been shaved down as if to fit them to the surface of a wall, and they had been painted all over with black. The paint has since worn off.

Upon No. 1 Lysons doubtfully read:—

DEO ROMVLO . . . . VETTINVS DONAVIT . JVVENTINUS FECIT.

Upon No. 2 some other person read:—

MARTI OLLVDIO.[2]

I will deal with No. 1 first. The inscription upon No. 2, indeed, has by this time left traces only of what may have been the terminal DIO.

As the photograph reveals, the first word of the dedication, DEO, and the first two and a half letters of ROM[IVLO] are sufficiently clear. Then occurs an awkward break along the shaven-off ascending cornice; but the lettering takes up faintly again before reaching the crown, or apex, made by the inclined cornices of the tablet, and here can be made out 'A V,' followed, after the median line has been passed, by a fairly clear G.

Before proceeding, it is necessary to point out firstly that, unless it was smartly abbreviated by the sculptor, there was, and is, only just room for the entire name ROMVLO. Secondly, it is needful to ask what can AVG signify here, unless we supply (in short) ET . N [VMINIBVS] AVG [VSTI] ?

[1] Similar, but inferior, votive representations occur on the little altars found at King's Stanley, now in the British Museum.

[2] Lysons gives no trace of inscription upon this example in the *Reliquiæ Brit. Rom.* He also omits the representation of the caligæ, which are still well seen, while, on the other hand, he represents diagonally across the altar-stem three (? spiral) bands which are now obliterated.

We might therefore take that to have been the intention of the mutilated dedication, and that it originally read:—

DEO . ROM[VLO] ET . N[VMINIBVS] AVG[VSTI].

On the other hand, there is reason for not attributing this sculpture to a later date than the third century; and although it is probably much later than that of the Antonines, it is well to recall that under various Emperors occur occasional brasses stamped with the flattering legend—

ROMVLO AVGVSTO,

evidently intended to identify the virtues of the reigning sovereign with those of the Founder of Rome. It is probable, therefore, that in our anaglyph, when perfect, we should have seen that very formula, with the aforesaid prefix DEO. Hence, we are in all likelihood correct in reading here:—

DEO . ROMVLO . AVG[VSTO],

for which, it will be found, there is just sufficient room.

Next occurs the name of the donor of the votive tablet, whom the *Corpus Inscriptionum*[1] (following Lysons) gives as VETTINVS.

Careful scrutiny shows that reading to be impossible, for there is a letter more in the name under consideration than in VETTINVS. The name, in fact, has nine letters, of which the first two are VE, and the last four are certainly EPIVS. Between these the two more doubtful letters are LO. The last letter has lost its top, and consequently resembles the lower half of an English U, but the curved sides show it to be not a V (or part of an N), but the lower half of the letter O.

Hence the name should really read VELOEPIUS.

By itself, below this, and to the right of the warrior's head, follows:—

DONAVIT
IVVENTI . IS (IVVENTINVS)
FECIT (rather bedimmed by rubbing).

It is therefore clear that to the god Romulus a

[1] First edition, vol. vii., p. 31.

provincial (perhaps a legionary) named VELOEPIVS gave this votive offering (probably, judging from the style, in the third century A.D.), and that one JVVENTINVS made it for him.

The figure standing thus under the dedication, within its stone frame, may be considered above the average of its class in point of technical execution. It measures 14 in. in height, and is habited in the typical accoutrements of the Roman warrior. It may here either represent the donor or the deity.

He is girt with a ribbed cuirass (lorica), tunic, and subucula, not descending below the knees. Around the waist is worn, with a large central buckle, the cingulum, into which is fastened, upon the left side, the short sword; the belt seeming to pass through an invisible loop behind the sheath. Above the thick rounded head of the sword-handle is seen the sagum (or plaid) crossed over the breast, and passing from the right shoulder on to the left arm over the elbow-joint, that arm being extended freely so as to hold in place by its rim the long ovate (damaged) shield, the central boss of which is just apparent. The opposite or right arm holds at rest an upright lance (pilum), having a peculiarly thick socket to the broad head. At the neck is worn a graceful collar of radiating metal (?) plates leading up to a continuous hood, apparently all in one with the helmet, and framing round the entire visage. The whole effect recalls the Fool's cap of the fourteenth century. The helmet (galea) is of an unusual form, and most of the central (plumed) crest (crista) is worn away; but at a short distance from it, on either side, appears another ridge or knob of well-rounded form. These side ridges are placed too high upon the head, and project too far, to belong to the hinges of the visor.[1] Below each of them projects a large curved ornament, like a wing, somewhat giving the effect of a volute. If these lower projections were intended

[1] The appearance of this helmet of three ridges recalls the Truphaleia, however distantly.

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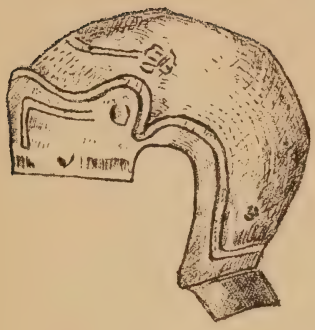
WATERCOMBE. FIGURE I.



ROMAN BRONZE HELMET.

GUISBOROUGH (YORKS.)

ROMAN SPEARHEAD.

(GREAT WAKERING (ESSEX.)

Page. 176.

WATERCOMBE, FIGURE II.

to represent the metal neck-rim, they also are placed unwarrantably high, as high as would be the wings on the helmet of Roma, as shown upon coins. These might not be inappropriate to the god Romulus. The helmets of gladiators occasionally bore them.[1] The cheek-pieces are wanting. Caligæ are worn, extending to above the ankles, and ending in a thick band, as if turned over and tucked in.

Beyond the lance stands an altarlet, upon which is erected a twofold cornucopia containing "plenty," represented by three (?) apples.

We have a dedication, therefore, to Romulus, the protector of the crops, and we should consequently either conjecture the donor to have been a native of Central Italy, in spite of his barbaric name, or that he had served in the days of Maxentius (A.D. 306), to whom the revived cult of Romulus signified so much, and whose son was purposely named Romulus Augustus. But, chiefly owing to the style, we think that he belonged to a rather earlier date, and simply used a formula uniting the titles, imperial and divine. This, it is believed, is the sole dedication to Romulus known in Britain.

The SECOND relief, similar in dimensions to the first, and evidently by the same hand, presents us with another male figure, represented holding a pendent patera by its rim in his right hand above another altar. With his left he clasps close to his body an erect cornucopia,[2] the loaded head of which reaches above his left shoulder, and holds fruit. Though in some portions (particularly the right half of the figure) more damaged than its fellow-tablet, sufficient remains of the details to be described.[3]

The tunica here descends to rather below the knees.

[1] *Cf.* A bronze helmet in the British Museum, found at Guisborough, co. York, and another from Cambridgeshire. The former is here represented. See, however, the illustration from Greek gems under GALEA (*Dict. Gr. and Rom. Antiq.*).

[2] This also may have been a double one.

[3] It has been mentioned already that the altar, as Lysons saw it, was decorated with bands or fillets (probably spiral in intention).

The caligæ (strangely omitted by Lysons) are similar. The right half of the body has now so lost surface that the details of the armour have vanished, nor is there left a trace of the "cingulum" or a sword.

From the left shoulder, and entirely covering the left breast, falls an ample military cloak or paludamentum, spread outward by the left arm and elbow in clasping the cornucopia, and descending thence in rigid herring-bone folds as far as the base-line of the skirt or tunic. There is visible a broad hem or border. The face, well-delineated, shows from a tight-fitting (? cloth) head-dress, resembling that of a mediæval knight. But there is no visible helmet. The effect is rather that of a Georgian wig.

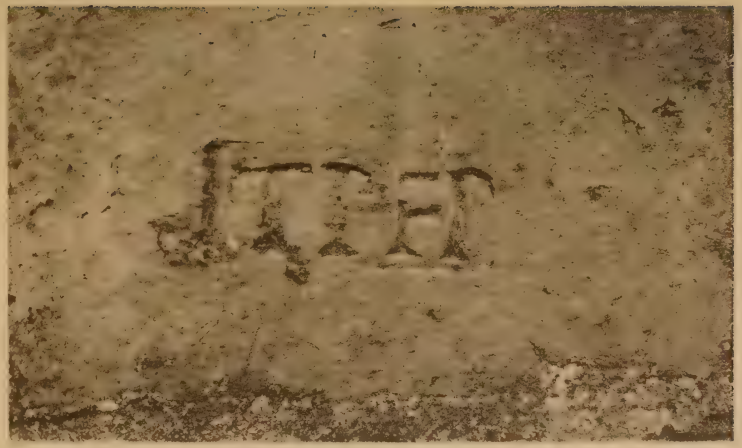
In the hollowed space, rather more than midway between the head and the cornice (to left), are faint traces of a dedicatory inscription . . . . IO. The *Corpus Inscrip.* gives this as MARTI . OLLVDIO. or Mars Olludius,[1] but says that 'it seems to be corrupt.' Scraping and a now worn-through coat of dark paint have done their worst, and the former operation, alas! would seem to have been perpetrated merely in order to make the face of the relief flush with the wall surface, when the little building was erected by its original possessor in 1845.

The said building or summer-house (now much needing repairs) has been constructed and roofed largely with material brought by Mr. Baker from remains of a Roman villa located in Church-Piece field near Oakridge.[2] It is tiled with hexagonal Bisley slats, and in the walls, besides courses of tripled red tiles, there are hypocaust tiles inserted here and there, face-outwards, so as to display their stamps. These tiles are of two sizes.

The smaller (measuring $7\frac{1}{4}$ in. by $7\frac{1}{4}$ in.) are impressed in the hollow letters by a metal stamp ($12\frac{3}{4}$ in. by $1\frac{1}{8}$ in.) T·PFP.

[1] *Cf.* Olus olera = garden herbs, vegetables.

[2] Cf. *Journ. Arch. Assoc.*, vol. i. p. 44, vol. ii. p. 324; *Arch. Journ.* vol. ii. p. 42.



WATERCOMBE. TILE I.

WATERCOMBE. TILE II.

The next, measuring 14⅛ in. by 10½ in., are stamped with a wooden stamp, likewise with hollow letters, as shown in the photograph.

While No. 3 (same size) repeat the letters of No. 1 in the larger scale of No. 2.

In all of these examples the most noticeable and interesting feature is the early form of the unjoined loop of the letter P.[1]

Next, in No. 2, a stop occurs after the letter T, and the space should indicate another stop after the P. Probably there should be stops between each letter.

As it is unlikely, though not impossible, that we should find 'TEGVLAE . Publicae,' or 'Privatae,' in Britain, it might seem wiser to look for owners' names in the above letterings. The period and (probably) the factory have been identical and of early date. We might therefore, but with due reserve, have hazarded T[itus] P[LAVTIVS] FA[BIANVS].

But it is important to note that similar brick-stamps came to light in 1800 with some Roman remains within a few miles of Bisley, at Rodmarton, and among these latter was found a third related variety marked TPFC.[2] These are now to be seen in the excellent museum at Cirencester. The bricks are from the same factory. It is curious that neither Lysons nor Mr. Baker have represented the stops which occur between some of these letters. But further, since those days, at Cirencester (Corinium) itself, have been brought to light similar tiles bearing the following additional varieties:—

TPFC (here the top of P is joined).
TPFP do. do.
TPLF (raised letters).
TPFA (loop joined).
TC.M (hollow letters).
TC.

[1] This usually belongs to the first century, and its provincial survival in this instance is noteworthy.

[2] Cf. *Archeologia*, 1808, S. Lysons.

Hence, one may the rather conclude that the factory of all these bricks was located at the large neighbouring town of CORINIVM; and that the Community there may have issued public tiles; the earlier ones bearing in the stamp (with stops), the unjoined P, and the later ones the later form of the letter and no stops. In such case, the last two letters of the various examples may have had reference to different 'issues,' or series.

It has been noticed that in the *Ifold* Villa, at Painswick,[1] the tiles bear a stamp relating to the community of GLEVVM. We should therefore reasonably expect those found at the above localities to bear one relating to CORINIVM.

In conclusion, the writer owes his thanks to Mrs. Davis, the present owner of these interesting relics, for much courtesy, and to Mr. E. W. Reed, of Painswick, for photographing them in the manner desired under considerable difficulties. In view of the superior quality of the workmanship and the peculiar interest of the subject, he ventures to express the hope that these objects will some day find an honourable home in the Gloucester Museum.

[1] *Trans. B. & G. Arch. Soc.*, vol. xxvii. p. 159.

In Memoriam.

HENRY ALLEN PROTHERO.

The death took place at Cheltenham in November, 1906, of Mr. Henry Prothero, F.R.I.B.A., one of the best known of Gloucestershire architects. Mr. Prothero, who was born in 1848, was a son of the late Rev. Thomas Prothero, J.P. and D.L., of Malpas Court, Monmouthshire. He was educated at Cheltenham College and Balliol, Oxford, where he graduated in 1871. He will be long remembered for his skill as an ecclesiastical architect, and specimens of his work are to be found in all parts of England. He designed the new chapel at Cheltenham College, was architect for the Cheltenham Ladies' College, and designed additions to many churches in Cheltenham and neighbourhood; also new churches in various parts of the country, He was co-opted a member of the Gloucestershire Education Committee in 1903, and proved himself a very useful member.

Mr. Prothero, who had been a member of our Society for about ten years, succeeded Mr. Currie as Local Secretary for Cheltenham when Mr. Currie became our Treasurer, and many of us will have a grateful recollection of his kindly help in organising and carrying through our Summer Meeting at Cheltenham and Worcester in 1905. Though he never contributed any separate paper to our *Transactions*, the descriptions of the local churches which he provided for us on that occasion, and especially the accounts which he gave of the development and restorations and ruinations of the ancient parish churches of Cheltenham and Cleeve were most interesting, and as they are incorporated into the account of the meeting, they will be very valuable for future reference. Mr. Prothero brought to any task which he undertook the mind of a scholar rich with very varied interests, and so it is that he will be missed not only as an architect, but in many other directions by people who valued his help in widely-differing kinds of work.

Notices of Publications.

GOTHIC ARCHITECTURE IN ENGLAND: An Analysis of the Origin and Development of English Church Architecture from the Norman Conquest to the Dissolution of the Monasteries. By Francis Bond, M.A. London: B. T. Batsford. 1905.

This great work is very much more than a treatise on architecture; it is, as its title implies, an account of the growth and development of an organisation that was quick and vigorous with life and energy of its own, the science and art of planning and building temples of worship for the living God. It is avowedly a treatise on church architecture; not that secular and domestic buildings are to be regarded as being inferior either in plan or execution, but that they are things of another sort, designed for other purposes, and so of necessity executed in other ways. And it is a treatise on one particular phase of Christian church building, that of Gothic architecture in England during the five centuries which followed the Norman Conquest; not that this style or development of styles was more essentially Christian, or was better adapted for Christian worship than other styles, but it was our own, a thing of native growth, and so naturally of more interest to English people. The basilicas of St. Mary and St. Paul Without-the-Walls at Rome are as noble buildings as any English Gothic church, and each type of building is planned as a temple for the offering of the Christian sacrifice, but the two plans are quite distinct. In the basilica the altar stands plainly out in the centre of the building, in the English church it is reverently veiled and guarded by reredos, choir stalls, and screen; and the story which Mr. Bond tells is of the way in which the structure of the English church came to be the thing which we know so well, whether as a mighty minster as at Gloucester or Tewkesbury, or as a little village church, which may nevertheless contain work worthy to find a place in the noblest cathedral in the land.

The book is set out on the plan of tracing out the growth and development of English Gothic architecture first as a whole, and then in its details. There is first a chapter dealing with the definitions of terms, and then five chapters dealing with the characteristics of the different periods of English church architecture between the Conquest and the

Dissolution, the periods being marked by years and not by "styles." Indeed Mr. Bond very definitely puts aside the four periods—*Norman*, *Early English*, *Decorated*, and *Perpendicular*, as mere figments of the imagination; there is no such fourfold sequence. There are but two periods of planning, and the dividing-point of time lies at the end of the twelfth century, by which time also all the main methods of abutment had come into use. With regard to vaulting, the periods are not four but five, and in time they do not coincide with the traditional forms. Only with regard to the windows does the traditional sequence of "styles" apply, and here not accurately, because the "Decorated" style at least ought to be divided into Geometrical and Curvilinear. Gothic art was a living, growing thing, no more to be divided into "styles" than there is a "style" of childhood, and another of youth, and another of mature age; furthermore, just as one individual comes to maturity more quickly than another, the "styles" do not coincide with periods of time—Curvilinear tracery was in use in some parts of England fully half a century after "Perpendicular" had come into use at Gloucester.

Following on these chapters on the origin and development of mediæval architecture is a chronological history of the greater English churches, extending over some fifty pages, illustrating by examples the story which had been told. This is a most interesting and helpful chapter, as it shows which of our great churches, and which parts of them, were in building at the same time, and gives an idea of the churches which were most often taken as models for others, and also of the varieties of local style which were in use in different parts of the country.

Then there follows what is called an "Analysis of the Mediæval Church Architecture of England," in which the church is as it were taken to pieces, and each single portion and the development of each single portion is described separately. First of all, the planning of the various types of churches and of each member of them, then the development of each portion of the church—piers and arches and vaults; buttresses, pinnacles, windows, and their tracery; triforium, clerestory, and roofs; doorways, porches, towers, and spires; so that not only is a comprehensive view obtained of the whole church, but also a thorough understanding is obtained of the purpose, method of construction, and ornamentation of each part of it. Finally there is an alphabetical list of dated buildings, and a series of indices to illustrations, to places, and to the subject-matter of the book, and it may be said at once that the indices are thoroughly well compiled and arranged. There is also a series of mouldings, drawn throughout to scale, of the various members of Gothic churches, which will be very helpful not only to architects, but also to all persons who have a good eye for form, in their visits to different churches.

The illustrations form a strong feature in the book. They number in

all 1254, of which 785 are photographs, sketches, and measured drawings, and 469 are plans, sections, diagrams, and figures of mouldings. And this wealth of illustration and of measured drawing is most valuable in bringing clearly before the eye a representation of the object, the purpose and development and form of which has been described. Of course the method adopted in the book involves a good deal of repetition, the same churches and the same members of the churches are referred to again and again. If, for example, any one were to take this book and master thoroughly all that is said about Gloucester and Worcester cathedrals in it, he would have gone a long way towards the possession of a complete knowledge of the development of English Gothic architecture; at any rate, he would have acquired such an amount of reasoned and well-ordered knowledge as would enable him to understand the history of almost any English church he might visit. But this very repetition is most helpful, there is no monotony about it; just as the bones and muscles of the face are the same for all mankind, and yet there is an infinite variety of character and expression, so it was with English Gothic art so long as it was a living, growing thing, each church had an individuality of its own, it is itself, and not a mere copy of another. And the abundance of illustration is most helpful in making this truth clear: mere descriptions of arrangements in stone would be more than monotonous enough; translated into visible form, they are quickened into beauty and grace. It is no depreciation of the work of Mr. Bond to say that it is likely that the fact that a subject which can be beyond almost any other dry and repulsive is in his book thoroughly interesting, may be due in great measure to the willing help which he has received from so many fellow-workers, the many minds representing many sides of truth, and so appealing to a far wider range of readers than any one writer could do. It is to the credit of our Society that some of our members have been able to lend a helping hand.

Naturally in a book which covers so wide a range there is room for some criticism with regard to local matters. When it is said (page 639), apparently on the authority of Rickman, that the porch and tower of St. Mary Redcliff were begun in 1292, it is clear that there is some mistake, for the lowest stage of the tower must have been begun nearly a century before that time. In a charter of confirmation granted in 1232 by Henry III. to the Priory of Bradenstoke the following passage occurs: "Ex dono Johannis filii Willielmi capellani de Radeclive, totam terram suam, quæ fuit Ricardi de Mera, quæ est contra clochiarium ecclesiæ S. Mariæ de Radeclive."[1] This bell-tower must have included no doubt the lowest stage of the existing tower. Again, when it is said that the south transept was finished in 1376 by William Canynges the elder, it

[1] Dugdale, *Mon.*, vi. 340.

must be remarked that there is no evidence at all for the date given, and there is no real reason for thinking that the elder William Canynges had anything to do with the church; his family burying-place was in the Lady Chapel of St. Thomas the Martyr, and the entry in Ricart's Kalendar attributing to him the building of the church from the cross aisle downwards was inserted in the seventeenth century.[1] Also there will naturally be differences of opinion. For instance, when it is said (page 632) that we may go so far as to lay down that where we find a bad tower produced by the removal of the spire the presumption is that the spire is a success, and the tower and spire of St. Mary Redcliff are given as an instance of the truth of the saying, it is likely that many of those who knew the tower before 1870 will differ from Mr. Bond. The tower is, in fact, the noblest feature of the church, and if it stood alone it would be quite adequate. The spire, however, which measures 180 feet from its base to the vane is out of proportion to the tower, which measures only 110 feet from the pavement to the leads, while the heights ought to be much more equal, and for a spire of that height another story ought to have been added to the tower. The defect is not so apparent from the north side, where the rise of the ground gives the additional elevation which is needed, but from the south side of Redcliff Hill the relative lowness of the tower is very striking. It is quite possible that it was an appreciation of the fact that the completion of the spire was no real addition to the beauty of the church which led the men of the fifteenth century to acquiesce in the truncated spire after the disaster of 1446. They had seen the spire as we see it now, they deliberately left it as we saw it before 1870; and we may be sure that they did so not from any lack of means or will, but because they thought it was better so, that in fact the completed spire had not been a success. Again, on page 267 reference is made to a thirteenth-century four-centred arch which is supposed to exist in the doorway of the City School at Bristol; anyone who should visit the building on Brandon Hill in search of it would search in vain. No doubt the reference really is to an arch at St. Bartholomew's Hospital, but the City School left that building in 1847. Both here and in the reference to the south transept at St. Mary Redcliff the book has not been brought up to date, and it is strange that this is so, because Mr. Bond gave some most helpful and instructive lectures in Bristol not long ago.

The book is very far indeed from being a mere description of outward forms, it is a thoroughly scholarly work, going to the very root of the matter, as anyone will find who sets himself to master the first chapter on definitions, or what is said about vaulting and its thrusts. It is, in truth, a volume which is likely to hold its place for some time to come as the best and most complete book on the subject with which it deals.

[1] Ricart's Kalendar, 32.

BRISTOL: A Historical and Topographical Account of the City. Written by ALFRED HARVEY, M.B. Illustrated by E. H. NEW. London: METHUEN & Co. 1906.

MESSRS. METHUEN are publishing a series of books on "Ancient Cities," and Dr. Harvey's subject takes its place with Canterbury, Chester, Shrewsbury, Edinburgh, and Lincoln; the inclusion of Shrewsbury marking the fact that the possession of a bishop's see is no necessary mark of a city, for though Shrewsbury was a *civitas* in Domesday it has never been the seat of a dioecesan bishop. Though the volume on Bristol by the Rev. W. Hunt in the *Historic Towns Series* is by no means out of date, there is plenty of room for a good and readable account of the city and its history, and that Dr. Harvey has given to us, dealing, as his title implies, both with the history and topography of the place. Four chapters deal with local history, five with topography, and the remaining three with different aspects of city life. It is evident that the scale of the book does not allow of any great amount of minute detail, but the book gives in a very interesting form a good account of what Bristol is, and of the manner of its growth. It is curious that in one place the writer speaks of periods of "decline" in the history of Bristol; it is doubtful whether there have been such periods. No doubt there have been temporary checks to its prosperity, such as those caused by the Black Death or the Reformation or the Civil War, but in each case there was a quick recovery, and the end of each century has found Bristol more populous than it was at the beginning.

The chapter which deals with the "Origin and Early History" of Bristol is commendably short, for though the Clifton camp and the Stoke Bishop cromlech and the Sea Mills enclosure exist on the soil of the borough, and must be accounted for, they have no more to do with the Bristol whose history the book relates than remains of habitations of Indians or Bushmen would have to do with the history of New York or Sydney. With regard to the form *Abone* in the Antonine Itinerary, it is simply an ablative formed from *Abon*, the name of the river—from Abon, xiiii. miles; there does not seem to be any ancient authority for the form *Abona* applied to a Roman station near the site of Bristol at all. The forms in the Itinerary are ablatives, *from* Isca Calleva, *from* Venta Silurum, *from* Abon, and so forth; this form of construction does not seem to have been sufficiently observed. It might have been mentioned that the boundary of Stoke Bishop Tithing, as given in the Charter of Alderman Ethelred, 883,[1] seems to be the same with the present southern boundary of Westbury-on-Trym, so that at that date the northern boundary of the estate containing the present site of Bristol must have been the same with

[1] K., *C.D.*, cccxiij.; C.S., 551; *Transactions*, xviii. 301.

the northern boundary of the ancient city and the parish of St. James; this seems to be the first appearance of the boundary of Bristol on the map of England. It is doubtful whether the use of the term *Burgenses* in Domesday is sufficiently definite to imply the existence of a fortification; there were *Burgenses* in Wiltshire at Bedwin, Tilshead, and Warminster, though we can hardly assume that those places were fortified; yet so far as Bristol is concerned it is more than likely that a place which could beat off a plundering body of Irish Danes under the sons of Harold in 1069 was protected by some kind of fortress. There is nothing remarkable about the Domesday ferm of Bristol, either with regard to its amount or form; in all it amounted to £101 6s. 8d.; 110 marks of silver (£73 6s. 8d.) to the king, and 33 marks of silver (£22) and one mark of gold (£6) to Bishop Geoffrey. Now as this sum is almost identical with the sum of the *firma unius noctis* in Somerset, £106 for the hundreds of Bruton and Frome, and £105 16s. 6½d. for the hundreds of Carhampton, Cannington, and Williton, it would seem that the ferm of Barton by Bristol was simply a commuted night's ferm, as the estates of Bitton, Wapley, and Winterbourne were rated at one night's ferm. The areas of the Bitton group and the Barton Manor were about equal.

It may be noted that the fact that no houses are mentioned in Domesday as having been destroyed for a site for the castle shows either that it had not then been built or that the ground on which it was built was as yet unoccupied. The way in which the Bedminster parishes were taken into the Diocese of Bristol is not quite correctly stated on page 130. All Bristol south of the Avon was originally both civilly and ecclesiastically in Bedminster, the 112 acres of meadow and wood which appear in Domesday as belonging to the Bishop of Coutances being probably the 173 acres of the three parishes south of the river, profitless marsh not being reckoned; for their area was certainly considered to be in Bristol at the time of Prince John's Charter a century later. Early in the twelfth century Robert, Earl of Gloucester, gave the area which now forms Temple Parish to the Templars, and as they were a spiritual body, the district became a separate ecclesiastical parish as well as an independent secular jurisdiction. Later on Henry II. and the Lords of Berkeley formed the borough of Redcliff, including the two parishes of St. Mary Redcliff and St. Thomas the Martyr, but though this area was separated civilly from Bedminster, ecclesiastically it remained attached to the mother church, of which the two daughter churches continued to be chapels till 1852. In 1542, when the Diocese of Bristol was formed, Temple, St. Thomas, and St. Mary's were included in the new diocese because they were in the city, as was also the parish of Abbot's Leigh, another chapel of Bedminster, probably because it was a part of the endowment of the See; but the mother church of Bedminster

remained in the Diocese of Bath and Wells, and a single institution at Wells admitted to the whole benefice. In 1836 the Sees of Gloucester and Bristol were united, and on July 19th, 1837, the parish of Bedminster was joined to the new diocese; finally, in 1852, the three ancient chapels of Bedminster were formed by Order of Council into independent parishes.

With regard to the fabric of St. Mary Redcliff, it is unfortunate that Dr. Harvey, on pages 52 and 186, should attribute any part of the building to the elder William Canynges; there is really no evidence at all for connecting him with St. Mary's, the entry in Ricart's Kalendar relating to the building "from the cross-aisle downwards" is in seventeenth-century handwriting, and Canynges himself was buried in the Lady Chapel of St. Thomas the Martyr. With regard to the cathedral, it was far from being the case that the naves of all Austin Canons' churches were parochial. They were so at Bolton, Dunstaple, Lanercost, St. German's, and Worksop, but they were certainly not so at Bristol or Keynsham; a passage on page 124 should be revised. It might have been well to explain that Bishop Butler was buried in Bristol Cathedral because he died at Bath, far from his See at Durham. On page 71 it should be noted that Tyndall's Park is to the north-east, not north-west of Brandon Hill, and on page 171 that Sir Thomas Berkeley, who died in 1361, was of Uley, in Gloucestershire, not of Ubley, in Somerset. With regard to the castle mentioned on page 96, which according to the sixteenth-century writer, Stow, was built by Edward the Elder at Avonmouth in 915, it is likely that the statement grew out of a misunderstanding of a passage in the Worcester Chronicle for that year: "The king had arranged that his men sat down against them on the south side of the Severn shore, on the west from Cornwall, east to Avonmouth, so that they durst not attempt to land anywhere on that side." The king guarded the coast carefully against the Danes, and it is likely enough that he set up some fortresses, but the chronicler does not say that he did so, and in the contemporary list of West Saxon fortresses there is no mention of Avonmouth, or of any name which could apply to the spot.

It is an encouraging sign of the times that there seems to be a steady demand for interesting and well-written books on the history of our old boroughs; such a book Dr. Harvey has given to us, it affords a good general account of the history of the city and its site, and will serve as an useful introduction to more serious study. There is a satisfactory index, and an Itinerary pointing out the means of access to the points of chief interest. Finally, Mr. E. H. New has contributed a number of really helpful sketches, and also a plan of the city, though with regard to the latter it should be noted that the Hospital of St. John in Redcliff Pit was not a house of Austin Friars.

GLOUCESTER IN NATIONAL HISTORY. By F. A. HYETT, B.A. Gloucester: JOHN BELLOWS. MCMVI.

MR. HYETT has very wisely extended the scope of his book, and has made it not simply a history of the borough of Gloucester, but rather an account of the place which Gloucester has occupied in national history. He has done well, for though Gloucester was a *colonia* in Roman times, and the seat of Mercian Government under Ethelred and Ethelflæd, all that is really known about British or Roman or Anglo-Saxon Gloucester itself, apart from what may be guessed from the analogy of other places, is little indeed. The place was not even incorporated till 1483, though it had returned members to the House of Commons since 1295, and was styled *civitas* in a document of 1022 [1] and in Domesday. But if the range of view is widened to take in the incidents of history which have centred in Gloucester, there is material for a most interesting story. A colony in one of the most flourishing districts in Roman Britain; the seat of one of the earliest Christian churches in the district in Anglo-Saxon times and of one of the most beautiful and wealthy of English abbeys even till the Reformation; one of the border boroughs from which the Welsh were kept in check, and the lowest point at which the Severn can be crossed by foot and horse traffic even to the present day; the fortress which by its resistance to Queen Margaret in 1471 and Charles I. in 1643 did much to turn the course of English history; the birthplace of Domesday Book and the burial-place of Edward II., will provide a tale that is well worth the telling.

Mr. Hyett treats his history by subjects rather than chronologically, with chapters for Roman, Saxon, and Norman Gloucester; Milo of Hereford, the thirteenth century, and kings and Parliaments in Gloucester; Gloucester during the Civil War, the Methodist Revival, Municipal and Ecclesiastical Gloucester; and there is no doubt that since Gloucester itself is for the most part the setting of the history rather than its subject, this is the best arrangement. Beyond the fact that Gloucester was already Roman in A.D. 50, that it was a colony, and that its name was much what it is now, very little is known about Roman Gloucester, which became Saxon after the battle of Dyrham in 577. Owing to the old English distaste for town life, it is quite likely that both Bath and Gloucester remained desolate till the foundation of their minsters by Osric a century later; certainly the names Bath-wick, -hampton, -easton, -ford, North- and South-stoke look like English colonisation from a centre. If the Danes could have held Gloucester after 878 it would have gone badly with Southern Mercia, but in fact they had overrun more than they could hold, a fact which was convincingly brought home to them by their

[1] K., *C.D.*, mccxvii.

defeat at Ethandune later in the year. The palmy age of Saxon Gloucester lay in the days of Alderman Ethelred and his wife Ethelflæd, the Lady of the Mercians, 880-918. In the later Danish wars Oxford appears as the chief Mercian borough, and Gloucester does not again acquire importance till the time of the wars with the Welsh in the days of the Confessor, and the days when the Conqueror wore his crown in Mercian Gloucester at Christmas, as he wore it at West Saxon Winchester at Easter, and at Westminster by the great merchant borough which had become the capital of all the English at Pentecost. Indeed, in the reigns of William the Conqueror and Rufus Gloucester was as near as any other place to being the centre of government of the realm; there Domesday Book was devised and St. Anselm was called to the Primacy. It can hardly, however, be truly said that Archbishop William, of Corbeuil, who was elected at Gloucester in 1122, left the church in a stronger position than he found it; because by his acceptance of the office of legate he made the Primate a dependant of the Pope and prepared the way for numberless difficulties in later years. During the wars in the reign of Stephen, owing to the support which was given to the Empress Maud by the Earl of Gloucester at Bristol and Earl Milo at Gloucester, Gloucestershire was the chief centre of her cause, and right down to the close of the Plantagenet period Parliaments were held there and royal visits were not infrequent.

The siege of Gloucester during the rebellion was a consequence of its position on the Severn, commanding the passage of the river; for the Welsh forces refused to cross the Severn till the city had been taken, and the king was in urgent need of their help. The story of the siege and of the subsequent ingratitude of the Parliament is well told, and two things appear very clearly—first, that Gloucester was saved through the superior generalship of its commander, Colonel Massey; and, secondly, the very small amount of influence which the towns have exercised on the opinion of the nation. In the very month in which the siege of Gloucester was raised all the most important positions in the shire except the county town were garrisoned by Royalists.

Gloucester contributed to the Methodist Revival George Whitefield, and Robert Raikes, one of the originators of Sunday Schools and the man who probably did more than any other to popularise their use. Whitefield, who was descended from Gloucestershire clergymen, was ordained when under the canonical age by the Bishop of Gloucester; it is likely that this premature ordination was a mistake, and that a further year and a half of training for Holy Orders would have been most truly helpful. The almost universal testimony of his contemporaries, learned and unlearned, rich and poor, goes far to justify Mr. Hyett's judgment that "Whitefield was probably the greatest pulpit orator that the English

Church has ever produced"; but when the Church of England is blamed because he was detached from her communion it must be remembered, both with regard to Whitefield and John Wesley, that whether their principles and teaching were in accordance with those of the Church or not, their practice was distinctly separatist, and could only end in separation. Sunday Schools did not, of course, begin to exist in July, 1780, when one was opened in the parish of St. John, Gloucester, by Mr. Raikes and the Rev. Thomas Stock, curate of the parish, but as Mr. Raikes, from 1783 onwards, constantly spoke of the good which his schools were doing in his newspaper, the *Gloucester Journal*, the system became known and spread very widely and rapidly through his agency.

It is curious that in his chapter on "Municipal Gloucester" Mr. Hyett does not mention the title *civitas*, applied to the place in the charter of 1022, and its *præfectus*, whose name appears in the form Ibiliside; the charter is passed by Kemble, and there seems to be no good reason for rejecting it. In Domesday Book Gloucester is described by an almost bewildering variety of titles; on a single page it is called civitas, burgus, villa, burgus civitatis,[1] but it is doubtful whether the designations either of 1022 or of 1086 tell us anything definite about the local constitution of the town. It is worth noticing that Gloucestershire and Lincolnshire are the only two Mercian shires in which two county boroughs appear, Winchcombe and Stamford taking their places with the capital towns. Stamford no doubt retaining a part of the dignity which pertained to the five burhs of the Northmen, and Winchcombe having been a military centre in earlier days. Municipally, Gloucester profited by being a royal borough, for though the king had long hands, he was a long way off, and would be less difficult to deal with in matters of local independence than a prelate or a secular potentate on the spot; it is really remarkable that Gloucester had to wait for incorporation until 1483. The charter of incorporation was in some respects rather a narrow one, for it compelled the two bailiffs to go to London to take their oath of office before the Lord Mayor. Gloucester does not seem to have been very prosperous at this time, and in 1553 a note of the poverty which followed on the dissolution of the religious houses is found in the purchase of cords and whips for whipping vagabonds. It is curious that the Cotswold wool trade does not seem to have helped Gloucester commercially, probably because Bristol formed a more convenient seaport for the traffic.

Ecclesiastically, the history of Gloucester from the beginnings of Hwiccian Christianity to the Dissolution was bound up with St. Peter's Abbey, for though the abbots seem never to have possessed any jurisdiction over the town, the other religious houses in or near the town were mostly of late date and were comparatively small. Happily the abbey

[1] D. B., f. 162.

church was spared at the Dissolution. Mr. Hyett is doubtful concerning the action which was taken by the last abbot, William Parker. It is certain that he took no part in the surrender of the house, and it is certain also from expressions in a letter from the commissioners appointed to receive surrenders, dated two days after the actual surrender of the house, that difficulties had arisen, and that it had not yet been determined into whose care the property of the dissolved abbey should be committed.[1] This would rather tend to show that the abbot refused to have anything to do with the surrender.

Mr. Hyett has given us a very accurate and well-written account of our county town, and we may surely trust that our Society is doing well at any rate a portion of the work for which it was founded when we find that two members of our Council have written really good and trustworthy histories of the cities in our district. There is a full list of authorities at the head of each chapter, with a good and well-arranged index, also a plan of the city in 1610, and some illustrations of the seals of the borough.

THE MANOR AND MANORIAL RECORDS. By NATHANIEL J. HONE. London: METHUEN & Co. 1906.

THIS is one of the very useful series of "Antiquary's Books" which Messrs. Methuen are publishing, and it is assumed that an "Antiquary" understands the nature of a manor, and of its working, and of the relations of the men living upon it one to another; the book therefore begins with a chapter on the "Origin of the Manor." But it would have been more helpful to a large class of readers if there had been a preliminary chapter on the "Nature of a Manor." Knowledge of manorial matters is knowledge of a very technical kind, and it is never wise to assume an elementary knowledge of technical matters. A reader who approached the book with an open and uninformed mind might indeed learn from it most of what he wanted to know, but his task would have been much simplified, and the method of his learning would be much more intelligent, if there had been a short preliminary chapter of the kind indicated.

But taking the book as it is, it consists, as its title implies, of two parts, one concerning the manor, the other relating to manorial records; and of two appendices, one containing a list of Court Rolls in various depositories, the other consisting of notes on miscellaneous subjects. In the chapter on the "Origin of the Manor," after mentioning various theories which have been held on the subject, Mr. Hone concludes that at some unknown time and in some unknown way the seignorial element was super-

[1] *Suppression of the Monasteries*, 238; Dugdale, *Monasticon*, v. 689.

imposed upon original free communities. Two things are clear, first that we find an estate with a lord and subjects as the essential form of property as far back as we can get in Old English law and history, and then that this elementary condition was not immediately altered by the Norman Conquest. The estate which we find described in Domesday Book as containing so many hides, and worth so much T.R.W., is essentially the same thing as it had been T.R.E. The chapters which follow, first on the men of the manor and their homes—the lord, the house and estate, the dwellers, officers and servants, and then concerning the life of the manor, the work and recreation of the manor, rights of common and enclosure, fairs and markets, royal and church manors, are all well put together and full of information, and between them they cover the whole subject so far as a book of this kind can be expected to cover it. The chapter on the manorial hall and estate is especially interesting, as the subject is illustrated by a number of plans and views of old manor houses and of the various rooms comprised in them, which remind us of the beautiful manor houses visited during our last summer meeting. The description of the officers and servants of the manor is taken from a treatise on husbandry by Walter de Henley, who wrote it about 1250; and the chapter on the work and recreation of the manor gives an account of the routine of the field-work of the estate throughout the year, illustrated by pictures taken from a fourteenth-century *Shepherd's Calendar* in the British Museum. As the work of the manor was well defined and regularly required, so its recreations were marked out with equal exactness; besides the Sundays, the festivals of the church during which no work was done amounted to fully six weeks in the year. Furthermore, it was due from the lord that he should provide certain refreshments during work-time and certain feastings at holiday times during the year. At Banwell in 1447 the reeve accounted for "a custom called *gestus villanorum* at Christmas, 51s. 4½d."; a Christmas "gest" or revel costing some £50 of our money would provide good fare for the servants even of a manor extending over 5,000 acres. Other recreations there were such as unlicensed shooting or fishing, which ended much as they end now, in appearance before the manor court and the infliction of fines. It would seem that the most highly privileged tenants were those on the ancient estates of the Crown, and that tenants on church land were generally better off than those on the properties of lay owners. The subject of enclosures is well and carefully treated. It is evident that any enclosure of the land of the manor in addition to that which rightly pertained to the lord's court was an invasion of the rights of the tenants of the manor, by diminishing the area available for the pasture of their beasts; it was, in fact, an ignoring of their customary right of pasture over the portion enclosed—the tenants lost what the lord gained. These

invasions began early. By the Statute of Merton (1236) the lord was allowed to enclose the waste, provided sufficient pasture was left for the tenants; this was, of course, a distinct robbery of the poor by the rich. The Black Death and the Wars of the Roses in different ways hastened the process of enclosure, which by the reign of Henry VII. had become a pressing evil. Edward Stafford, Duke of Buckingham, had license to impark 1,000 acres at Thornbury in 1510. Leland tells how "the Duke of Buckingham made a fair park, hard by the castle, and took much fair ground in, very fruitful of corn, now fair lands for coursing. The inhabitants cursed the Duke for those lands so enclosed."[1] The curse that was not causeless came home, and the Duke lost his head in 1521. The enclosures were increased by the dissolution of the religious houses, and there is no doubt that they were the cause of much of the beggary that followed on the Reformation. Mr. Hone quotes a very striking passage from Aubrey's "Collections" on Wiltshire, written about 1660, wherein, after saying that the enclosures were still going on, he concludes: "There were no rates for the poor, even in my grandfather's days: but at Kingston St. Michael (no small parish) the Church Ale at Whitsuntide did their business. Since the Reformation and enclosures aforesaid these parts have swarmed with poor people."

With regard to the second portion of the book on "Manorial Records," there is an excellent collection of documents exemplifying the processes of the manor courts and the nature of their working, but there is no clear account of the constitution of the courts themselves. This is a weak point in the book. It is as though a writer should give a good technical account of the construction of a steam engine and its uses, and should neglect to explain how the steam is raised. What is needed is a chapter on the "Nature of the Court," explaining the differences between Courts Baron, Courts Leet, and Courts Christian, and what were the constitution and functions of each kind of court. This is a piece of elementary knowledge which is absolutely necessary for understanding the subject, but which it would be very difficult to gather from the book itself. The procedure of the Court Baron is illustrated by a translation of a thirteenth-century treatise on the subject, which gives instances of the various kinds of cases which might come before the court and the method of dealing with them; while the copious extracts from Court Rolls, Account Rolls, Extents and Custumals, will be most helpful to those who are entering on the study of the subject. There are some most useful lists of Court Rolls in various depositories:—

1. Public Record Office. (*A*) Rolls belonging to the Ecclesiastical Commissioners, whose permission is needed for their inspection. (*B*) Rolls belonging to the Land Revenue Office.

1 *Transactions*, xiv., 262. There was also a park at Eastwood of a mile or more, concerning which Leland says that the Duke "twice enlarged it to the compass of six miles, not without many curses of the poor tenants."

2. The British Museum. Arranged under counties.
3. Lambeth Palace. Especially rich in Rolls relating to Kent and Somerset. With regard to the latter county, no doubt because Bishops of Bath and Wells who were promoted to the archbishopric took the Rolls with them.
4. Bodleian Library. Arranged under counties. Some Rolls, however, relating to Bibury, Arlington, and Turkdean for the 5th, 9th, and 15th of Henry VII. will be found with Oxfordshire documents referring to Hook Norton.

These are followed by a list of Manor Courts with testamentary jurisdiction, containing the names of about forty such courts, with the dates of the earliest wills and their present place of deposit. It is likely, however, that this list is very imperfect, and that there were very many more Testamentary Courts attached to Peculiars. No mention is made, for instance, of the Peculiar Court of Banwell, which held jurisdiction over that parish, Churchill, and Puxton, till about forty years ago, attached before the Reformation to the Priory of Bruton, and since to the Dean and Chapter of Bristol; the wills are in the registry at Wells. There is also a copious bibliography of manorial literature, and the book is provided with an excellent index.

THE HOUSE OF MARTIN. By W. G. WILLIS WATSON. Exeter: WILLIAM POLLARD. 1906.

THE attention of Mr. Watson was called to the Martin family by a coat of arms in Crewkerne Church, with a monkey contemplating himself in a mirror as a crest, and he has evidently expended a very great amount of time and trouble on the subject of his choice. The Martin family held little or no land in our district, but for many centuries they were large landowners in Somerset and Devon, where they have left their mark on Compton Martin and Combe Martin to this day. Their capital manor in Somerset was Blagdon, which at the date of Domesday was held by Serlo de Burci; and Dartington, held in 1086 by William de Faleise, was their chief estate in Devon. William de Faleise married a daughter of Serlo de Burci, and it was no doubt by this marriage that the two groups of estates were united. He received Woodspring (Worsprinca) with her as her portion. All this appears clearly on the face of Domesday, and then we plunge into the dark. There is an interesting passage on the devolution of the Faleise estates in Eyton's *Domesday Studies of Somerset*, vol. i., p. 63, but it throws no light on the manner in which they passed to the Martins. Robert FitzMartin, however, entered into possession of the combined

group of estates in the reign of Henry I., and as the Martins do not appear among the families mentioned by Mr. Eyton as connected with Sibil de Faleise, it seems likely that the properties came to him otherwise than by descent Woodspring belonged in 1210 to William de Courtenay, who placed a priory of Austin Canons there in that year, the Courtenays being among the families noted by Mr. Eyton. The Martins, however, came to stay; they held their estates till 1326, when the properties were scattered by marriages of coheiresses. The only point at which the Martins touched the history of our district lies in a gift to St. Augustine's, Bristol, by William, son of Robert FitzMartin, of a messuage with two crofts, ten acres of land, and common of pasture in Blagdon.[1] It is likely that this gift is now represented by the little Mendip parish of Rowberrow. William FitzMartin lived in the reign of Henry II. Rowberrow does not appear in Domesday, and by Somerset antiquaries it has usually been connected with the Glastonbury estate of Burrington, but Rowberrow shows no Glastonbury affinities, and was always connected with St. Augustine's. Care should be taken to set aside all references to the Cheddar and Wells property of Rowbarrow Farm by Priddy. Rowberrow does not appear by name before the date of William FitzMartin's gift, and no St. Augustine's property can be traced in Blagdon after that time, so that there can be little doubt that the gift is represented by the parish of Rowberrow.

After the extinction of the elder line of the Martins the interest of the family passes from our neighbourhood, though until the reign of Charles I. its members continued to be large landowners, and to hold positions of dignity and influence in Somerset and Devon. The book contains a great deal of very interesting family history, and is likely to be of real value to those who are interested in Devon and Somerset. It concludes with a series of carefully compiled pedigrees and a satisfactory index.

SOMERSETSHIRE PARISHES: A Handbook of Historical Reference to all places in the County. By ARTHUR L. HUMPHREYS. London: 187 Piccadilly. 1905.

THIS is a very valuable collection of the dry bones of history, and is considered by its compiler to contain about 25,000 to 30 000 references to Somersetshire history, arranged alphabetically under Parishes, Hamlets, Tithings, &c. Mr. Humphreys had prepared the way for this work by publishing some nine years a list of worthies, unworthies, and villains born

[1] Dugdale, *Mon.*, vi. 366

in the county, and he had collected a very large number of references to persons and places, when at last he determined to reduce them to order, to arrange them under parishes, and to publish the result.

Under the heading of each parish or place there appears first any general reference to its history, ignoring naturally such obvious sources of information as county histories and the proceedings of county societies. Then there follow the particulars of registers, both Church and Nonconformist, drawn from the Government returns of 1833 and 1838; these are most valuable, and will show whether any of these precious parochial documents have been lost in the last seventy years. Then are given in order references to court rolls, accounts, awards, and proceedings in actions relating to the place, with a section relating to manorial matters, and another relating to the church and its history. There is usually a very full biographical section, which as it includes references from Calamy and the Tucker records, will be useful in illustration of the rise of Nonconformity in the district. Finally, there is a most useful collection of references to wills. With regard to Banwell, which is a fair example of a large country parish, there are about 100 references, of which 17 are biographical, and 54 are to wills. The principles on which the biographical section is drawn up do not seem to be clear. The registers of Eton College and Harrow and Merchant Taylors' Schools have been collated, but no such use has been made of University registers, which would have been much more useful; the choice of schools too is strange, Winchester and Westminster would have been of much more value, at least until the middle of the nineteenth century, for no large proportion of the names from the two selected schools is of much interest.

The work will be invaluable to all those who are engaged on the history of Somersetshire parishes, not only in consequence of the information that is actually given, but also as suggesting lines of inquiry which it would be well to follow. The information concerning wills is likely to be most helpful in this direction. Of course in a work covering so large an area, and drawing information from so many sources, there will be some slips. For instance, the reference to "Coal Mines within the Manor of Benwell" no doubt really applies to the Northumbrian Benwell, and not to any parish in Somerset; but generally the book seems to be a very careful compilation, at any rate there are very few misprints. Possibly some one of our members with a good many years of life before him would like to undertake a similar work for Gloucestershire.

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These should be addressed to John E. Pritchard, Hon. Secretary for Bristol, as above.

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Water-colour Drawing of the "Stag and Hounds," Old Market Street, Bristol, the site of the ancient Pie Poudre Court, by F. A. W. T. Armstrong, R.B.A.

November, 1906.

ON EARLY AND MEDIÆVAL LIBRARIES AND THE EVOLUTION OF THE BOOKROOM AND THE BOOKCASE.[1]

By T. W. WILLIAMS.

It is well to consider at the outset the meanings of the term "Library," for this apparently simple word is used in several senses. The definitions given in the *New English Dictionary* include amongst others: "(1) A place set apart to contain books for reading, study or reference: (*a*) applied to a room in a house, &c., also a bookcase, quoting from an inventory of the goods in the church of St. Christopher-le-Stocks made in 1488, 'On the south side of the vestrarie standeth a grete librarie with ii longe lecturnalles thereon to lay on the books' (*Archæologia*, xlv. 120); (*b*) A building, room, or set of rooms, containing a collection of books for the use of the public, or of the members of some society or the like. (2) The books contained in a library (sense 1); a large collection of books, public or private. Johnson."

With the other meanings we are not concerned now, the object of this paper being to set out some of the steps in the evolution of the room or building and the cases in which books were stored in the Middle Ages, with some account of the way in which the books were produced, and of the rules usually adopted for their use.

The interesting point, whether the bequest of a library (*bibliotheca*) included merely the press or presses, or the books

[1] This paper is enlarged from one read to the members of the Bristol and Gloucestershire Archæological Society in December, 1905, and I should like to acknowledge the generous and courteous way in which Mr. John Willis Clark allowed me to use what plates I pleased from his work, *The Care of Books* (1901), to which book I am indebted for much in this paper, as also to Mr. Falconer Madan's work, *Books in Manuscript*.

as well, was referred to the decision of the jurist Ulpian, who died A.D. 228.

Mediæval historians generally began their chronicles with the Creation, so, to comprehend the evolution of the library, we should glance at the earliest modes of caring for books known to us. The earliest form of book was the tablet, as used in Babylonia and Assyria, and I may be pardoned for going somewhat outside my prescribed limits in alluding to the libraries in which these were stored.

Mr. Sayce[1] says: "From the earliest period the literature of Chaldæa was stored in public libraries. According to Berosus, Pantibibla, or 'Book-town,' was one of the antediluvian cities of Babylonia, and Xisuthros had buried his books at Sippara before the Flood. Every great city had at least one library, and the office of librarian was considered honourable enough to be held by the brother of the king. The most famous of the Babylonian libraries were those of Erech, Larsa and Ur, and (after the Semitic conquest) of Agadé. The older library of Babylon perished for the most part when the town was destroyed by Sennacherib. Scribes were kept busily employed in copying and re-editing old texts, and more rarely in preparing new ones. The copies were made with scrupulous care, and an illegible character or word was denoted by the statement that there was a 'lacuna,' or a 'recent lacuna,' while attention was drawn to the breakage of a tablet. When an Assyrian scribe was in doubt as to the meaning of his Babylonian copy, he either reproduced it or gave it two or more possible equivalents in the Assyrian syllabary.

"The libraries established by the Assyrian kings at Assur, Calah, and Nineveh were formed in imitation of those of Babylonia. Like the Babylonian libraries also, they were thrown open to the public, though it is extremely doubtful whether the reading public was so large in Assyria as in the sister kingdom. At any rate, their contents were derived

[1] *Herodotus*, vol. i., app. ii., p. 399, ed. 1883.

almost entirely from Babylonia. The tablets or books were all numbered[1] and arranged in order, and the table of the chapters in the great astronomical work compiled for Sargon's library at Agadé (B.C. 2000) enjoins the student to hand to the librarian in writing the number of the book or chapter he wishes to procure.

"The literary matter in these libraries comprised every branch of learning known at the time. Historical and mythological documents; religious compositions; legal, geographical, astronomical, and astrological treatises; magical formulæ and omen tablets; poems, fables and proverbs; grammatical and lexical disquisitions; lists of stones and trees, of birds and beasts, of tribute and eponyms; copies of treaties, of commercial transactions, of correspondence, of petitions to the king, of royal proclamations, and of dispatches from generals on the field—all were represented."

The use of papyrus in Egypt for the making of books is of extreme antiquity, and the bulk of the earliest Greek and Latin writings we possess are on this material—in the case of Greek of the third century B.C., of Latin of the first century A.D. It was freely exported to Greece and Rome, and though it gave way before parchment, it was not until the tenth century A.D. that in Egypt itself its use was abandoned. Practically in about A.D. 935 its fabrication ceased, although for Pontifical bulls it was invariably used till A.D. 1022, and occasionally till 1050. Parchment has also been used from the earliest times; and its use was revived in the second century B.C., and lasted till the invention of printing, after which time it was reserved for sumptuous editions, and for legal and other records. Paper was first manufactured (outside China) at Samarkand in Turkestan in about A.D. 750. Even in Spain, where it first obtained a footing in Europe (in the tenth century), it was imported from the East, not being manufactured in the West till the twelfth century; but from that time its use

[1] They appear to have been placed on shelves in cases, with the catalogue on a tablet at the side.

spread rapidly. In England there was a paper mill at Hertford shortly before 1470, owned by John Tate; but no book was printed on English paper till 1495, when Bartholomæus Glanville's *De proprietatibus rerum* was issued on native paper.

In regard to Roman libraries, it must be remembered in the first place that those who fitted them up had to deal with rolls (*volumina*), probably of papyrus, but possibly of parchment; and that a book as we understand the word, the Latin equivalent for which was "*codex*," did not come into general use until long after the Christian era. The length and width of the roll depended on the taste or convenience of the writer; the average length may be taken at 20–30 ft., the width at 9–11 in. The contents were written in columns, the lines of which ran parallel to the long dimension; and the reader, holding the roll in both hands, rolled up the part he had finished with his left hand, and unrolled the unread portion with his right. The end of the roll was fastened to a stick, the sides were carefully cut, smoothed and coloured. A ticket with the title written on it (index or *titulus*), made of a piece of papyrus or parchment, was fastened to the edge of the roll in such a way that it hung out over one or the other of the ends. The roll was kept closed by strings or straps (*lora*), usually of some bright colour, and if especially precious an envelope, which the Greeks called a jacket (διφθέρα) was provided.

The rolls were kept in shelves divided into pigeonholes. The wall-space above the bookcases was decorated with the likenesses of authors, dead and living, or friends. This obvious form of decoration was in all probability used at Pergamon. Pollio (*c.* 38 B.C.) introduced it into Rome, and Pliny, who calls it a novelty, deposes to its general adoption.

When books of a shape similar to that with which modern librarians have to deal had to be accommodated as well as rolls, it is manifest that rectangular spaces not more than a few inches wide would be singularly inconvenient. They

were therefore discarded in favour of a press, a piece of furniture which would hold rolls as well as books, and was in fact used for both purposes.

The jurist Ulpian, in a discussion as to what is comprised under the term "*liber*," decides in favour of including all rolls (*volumina*) of whatever material, and then considers the question whether codices come under the same category or not, thereby showing that in his day both forms of books were in use.

With regard to the custody of books in the early monasteries, or indeed anywhere in the first few centuries of the Christian era, it is difficult to say much; they were probably kept in presses or cupboards.

The centre of monastic life was the cloister, and there at first the monks kept their books (except perhaps in a few special instances); we have no certain knowledge of the furniture used. St. Pachomius (A.D. 292–345) places his books in a cupboard (*fenestra*). S. Benedict in his Rules (early sixth century) uses only the general term library (*bibliotheca*), which may mean either a room or a piece of furniture; and the word press (*armarium*), with which we become so familiar afterwards, does not make its appearance till near the end of the eleventh century. This word was used by the Romans to signify both a detached piece of furniture and a recess in a wall into which such a contrivance might be inserted. There are two such recesses in the east wall of Worcester Cathedral, formerly a Benedictine monastery. They are between the chapter-house and the passage leading to the treasury and other rooms. These were in use so late as 1518.

In the customs in use at Barnwell, near Cambridge, it is said in the chapter headed, "Of the safe keeping of books, and of the office of librarian" (*armarius*): "The press in which the books are kept ought to be lined inside with wood, that the damp of the walls may not moisten or stain the books. This press should be divided vertically as well as horizontally by sundry shelves, on which the books may be ranged so as

to be separated from one another, from fear they be packed so close as to injure each other, or delay those who want them."

In the twelfth century, when books were few, they were kept in chests, and the owners seem to have used the edge as a desk to lean their books on. Chests were used at the Vatican library for the permanent storage of books in the fifteenth century, and a book chest frequently formed part of the travelling luggage of a king.

Mr. J. W. Clark says in his work, *The Care of Books*, p. 292 : " The earliest information about the furniture of a mediæval private library that I have as yet discovered is contained in a fragment of an account book, recording the cost of fitting up a tower in the Louvre in 1367 and 1368 to contain the books belonging to Charles V. of France."

As books multiplied, ampler accommodation for them became necessary ; and as they were to be read in cloister, it was obvious that the new presses or cases must either be placed in the cloister or easily accessible from it. The time had not yet come when the collection could be divided, and be placed partly in the cloister, partly in a separate and sometimes distant room. This want of book room was supplied in two ways. In Benedictine and possibly in Cluniac houses the books were stored in detached wooden presses, but the Cistercians adopted a different method. At the beginning of the twelfth century, when that Order was founded, the need of additional book space had been fully realised, and consequently in their houses we meet with a special room set apart for books. But the conservative spirit which governed monastic usage, and discouraged any deviation from the lines of the primitive plan, made them at first keep the press in the wall close to the door of the church ; and in addition to this, they cut off a piece from the west end of the sacristy, which usually intervened between the south transept and the chapter-house, and fitted it up for books.

There are rooms in such a position, and destined no doubt

to this use, at Kirkstall Abbey, Beaulieu, Hayles, Jervaulx, Netley, Tintern, Croxden, and Roche. The practice of devoting separate rooms to this purpose of course grew, and is attested by extant catalogues.

At Durham Cathedral[1] (Benedictine), it "may be stated that the monks did not keep their books in one room, but in various places within the precincts of their Cathedral, in the Spendimentum, or Splendement, in the Cloister, and the Refectory. The first of these places is . . . the same room as the Chancery where . . . money was received and paid. In this Spendimentum there were apparently two classes of books, the one accessible to the monks at large, kept in a common bookcase [*armariolum*], and the other preserved in the inner room [a sub-division of the Splendement].

"The next considerable portion of the books of the Monks of Durham was preserved in the north aisle of the Cloister; and of this library we have the following minute description:— 'In the north side of the Cloisters, from the corner over against the church door to the corner opposite the dorter door, was from the height of the sole, within a little of the ground, unto the Cloister-garth, all finely glazed; and in every window, three pews or carrels, where every one of the old Monks had his carrel several by himself, to which, after having dined, they did resort, and there study their books, everyone in his Carrel, all the after-noon, till even-song time; and this was their exercise every day. Their Pews or Carrels were finely wainscotted, and very close, the foreside having carved work of wainscot to let in light to their Carrels; in every Carrel was a desk to lay their books on; and the Carrels were no greater than from one stanchel to another of the window. Opposite to the Carrels, against the church wall, stood certain great Ambries of wainscot, full of books, as well the ancient written Doctors of the Church, as other profane Authors, with divers other holy men's works; so that everyone studied

[1] See "Catalogues of the Library of Durham Cathedral" (Surtees Soc., 1837, p. 5).

what doctor he pleased, having the Library at all times open to go and study in, besides their Carrels.'

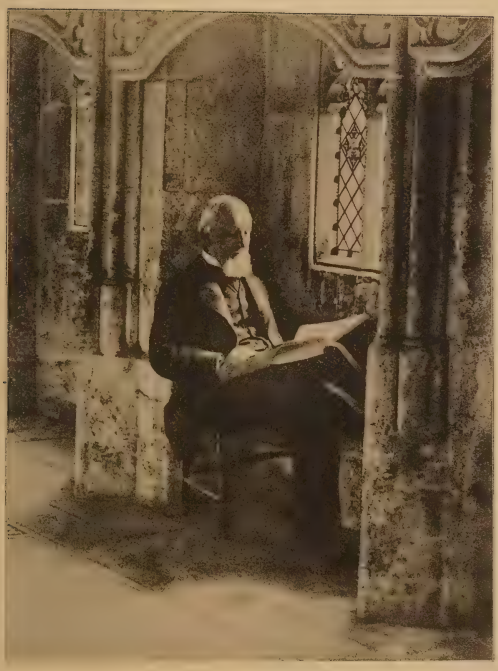
"Other books were placed within the doorway leading to the Infirmary (near the corner in the south end of the west alley of the Cloister). These were the books used by the reader in the Refectory during the time of dinner, and they were deposited here as in the nearest place of safety. Why they were not placed in the Refectory itself, it would now be in vain to inquire.

"One case or chest of books was appropriated to the novices, whose place of study is known to have been that part of the Cloister which fronts the door of the treasury."

At Wells, until the building of the library over the east cloister, Canon Church conjectures that the books were kept in the western aisle of the north transept.

In the south cloister at Gloucester there is a splendid series of twenty stone carrels built between 1370 and 1412. Each carrel is 4 ft. wide, 19 in. deep, and 6 ft. 9 in. high, lighted by a small window of two lights. There is no trace of any woodwork appertaining to these carrels, or of any book-press having ever stood near them. The easternmost carrel, however, differs a good deal from the others, and it may have been used as a book-closet. There is a bench-table along the wall of the church opposite to the carrels; but it does not appear to have been cut away to make room for book-presses, as at Westminster. The south alley appears to have been shut off at the east end and also at the west end by a screen.

Each carrel must have closely resembled a sentry-box, with this difference, that one side was formed by a light of the window looking into the cloister-garth, opposite to which was the door of entrance. This would be of no great height, and moreover was made of open work, partly that the work of the occupant might be supervised, partly to let as much light as possible pass through into the cloister library, the seat being placed so that the light would enter on the reader's left hand.



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A CARRELL IN THE CLOISTERS OF GLOUCESTER CATHEDRAL.

A CARMELITE IN HIS STUDY.

JEAN MIELOT. A.D. 1456.

Carrels were in use at Westminster between 1258 and 1283; at Bury St. Edmunds they were destroyed in a riot in 1327; they occur at Evesham between 1367 and 1379; at Abingdon in 1383–4; some were put up at Christ Church, Canterbury, between 1472 and 1494. They were devices to provide a certain amount of privacy for literary work in houses where there was no scriptorium or insufficient room. They seem to have been usual in monasteries from very early times, not to have been introduced at a comparatively late date in order to ensure greater comfort. At Durham they were used exclusively for reading. In houses where there was a scriptorium, it is probable that books were kept in presses or chests there while they were being copied.

The scriptorium of an ordinary Benedictine monastery was a large room usually over the chapter-house; the work carried on in the scriptorium was properly considered of the greatest importance.

A saying of Gregory, sub-prior of St. Barbara in Normandy in about the year 1170, was much quoted in the Middle Ages: "Claustrum sine armario castrum sine armamentario." This being accepted, and the reading of books being enjoined by St. Benedict and other founders of monastic orders, it was almost a necessity for the monks to make copies of books for themselves, and I propose to give a few details of the process.

We must not forget that at certain times and places the scribe was held in quite conspicuous honour. In Ireland, for instance, in the seventh and eighth centuries the penalty for shedding his blood was as great as that for killing a bishop or abbot; and in Scotland "scriba" was regarded as an honourable addition to a bishop's name. Adamnan's *Life of St. Columba* is full of allusions to the art of writing, in which the saint himself excelled; and it is owing to its prominence that such stories are permanently recorded, as of the monks who dropped a manuscript into a vessel of water and upset the saint's own inkhorn. So too St. Dunstan was noted and honoured for his skill. The scribe was an honoured and

important functionary at such great centres of writing and illumination as Winchester, St. Albans, Durham, and Glastonbury, where as at some other great monasteries, was generally an historiographus, who kept an official record of the general and local history of his times.

The scriptoria or carrels were under the general discipline of their house, but had special superadded rules of their own. These rules, as preserved to us in certain Benedictine statutes, are as stringent as can well be imagined. Artificial light was entirely forbidden for fear of injuring the manuscripts; and to prevent idleness and interruption, no one was allowed to enter the room besides the scribes, except certain of the higher officers of the abbey. The Armarius was a special officer who had charge of the scriptorium; but even he had no power to give out work to be done without the abbot's leave. He had to provide all that was necessary for the work—desks, ink, parchment, pens, penknives, pumice stone for smoothing the surface of the parchment, awls to give guiding marks for ruling lines, reading frames to hold the books to be copied, rulers and weights to keep down the pages. The scribe himself was forbidden to make any alteration in the text, even when the original which he was copying was obviously wrong. Absolute silence was enjoined; and as, nevertheless, some method of communication was necessary, there was a great variety of signs in use. If a scribe needed a book, he extended his hands, and made a movement as if turning over leaves. If it was a missal that was wanted, he superadded the sign of a cross; if a psalter, he placed his hands on his head in the shape of a crown (a reference to King David); if a lectionary, he pretended to wipe away the grease (which might easily have fallen upon it from a candle); if a small work was needed, not a Bible or a service book, but some inferior tractate, he placed one hand on his stomach and the other before his mouth! Finally, if a pagan work was required, after the general sign he scratched his ear in the manner of a dog.

Besides the monks who acted as scribes and illuminators,

there were three classes of secular scribes, who would only come to the monastery when their services were needed—*illuminatores*, when the abbey could not itself provide men capable of finishing off the manuscript by rubrication and painting; *librarii*, a common kind of hack scribe; and *notarii*, who would be required for legal purposes, such as drawing up a deed or will.

We find the first tendencies to form national handwritings in the seventh and eight centuries, resulting in the Merovingian or Frankish hand, the Lombardic of Italy and the Visigothic of Spain. And in the seventh century, when our earliest existing Irish manuscripts were written, we find not only a style of writing (or indeed two) distinctively national and of a high type of excellence, but also a school of illumination, which in the combined lines of mechanical accuracy and intricacy, of fertile invention of form and figure, and of striking arrangements of colour, has never been surpassed. Sir E. Maunde Thompson[1] says: "The development of the border is extremely interesting to follow; and so regular is its growth, and so marked are the national characteristics which it assumes, that the period and place of origin of an illuminated manuscript may be accurately determined from the details of its borders alone."

Let us now observe how a scribe would act at the beginning of his six-hour daily task. A section of parchment is brought to him to be written on, each sheet still separate from the others, though loosely put in the order and form in which it will be subsequently bound; generally four pieces were taken, each roughly about 10 in. high and 18 in. broad, and were folded once across, so that each piece formed four pages (two leaves) of what we should call a quarto volume. These pieces were fixed one inside another, so that the first piece formed the first and eighth leaves, the second the second and seventh, the third the third and sixth, and the fourth the two middle leaves of a complete section of eight leaves or sixteen pages,

[1] *English Illuminated MSS.*, p. 37.

termed technically in Latin a *quaternio*, because made of four (*quatuor*) pieces. A sufficient number of *quaternions* were put together to form the projected book, and this was brought to the scribe. Then the size and general style of the writing had to be fixed (this would be a matter of custom), the largest style being reserved for psalters and other books to be used for public services on a desk or lectern; this determined, the sheets have to be ruled. When the scribe has the ruled sheets before him, his pen and ink in readiness, and the volume to be copied on a desk beside him, he may begin to transcribe. How simple this seems! He is forbidden to correct, but must simply copy down letter for letter; no responsibility except for power of reading and for accuracy is laid on him. Yet all who know human nature, or who have studied palæography, or even had to examine engrossments of deeds in a solicitor's office, will acknowledge that the probability against two consecutive leaves being really correctly transcribed is about one hundred to one.

The frequent use of the word "*dictare*" in connection with writing has led some to think that scribes did much of their work from dictation. The evidence on the question in classical times is so scanty that we are driven to conclude that scribes almost invariably copied from a volume in front of them in silence, as was certainly the case in the scriptoria of monasteries. Alcuin, who describes the copying work at York, seems to know nothing of it, and the word "*dictare*," used in connection with writing, means "to compose" and not "to dictate." The only dictation which was common was when a letter or a message was dictated by its composer to swift-penned *notarii*.

Theodori, Abbot of Evroul,[1] in Normandy, in the middle of the eleventh century used, we are told, to lecture his monks against idleness, and "also he was wont to tell them this story":

"There was a monk in a certain monastery who was guilty

[1] Maitland, *Dark Ages*, p. 268.

of many transgressions against its rules, but he was a writer, and being devoted to writing, he of his own accord wrote out an enormous volume of the divine law. After his death his soul was brought before the tribunal of the just judge for judgment, and when the evil spirits sharply accused him, and brought forward his innumerable crimes, the holy angels, on the other hand, shewed the book which that monk had written in the house of God, and counted up all the letters of that enormous volume, as a set-off against the like number of sins. At length the letters had a majority of only one, against which, however, the demons in vain attempted to object any sin. The clemency of the Judge, therefore, spared the monk, and commanded his soul to return to his body, and mercifully granted him space for the reformation of his life."

When the writing is finished, the illuminator does what rubrication may be required,[1] colours the initial letters, and does the illuminations, on which I must not touch now. The colours used—which were made with great care, as the numerous treatises on their preparation evince—were primarily gold, red and blue, less commonly green, purple, yellow, white and black.

The book now written, rubricated and illuminated, is taken to the binder. The common binding in the Middle Ages for books of some size and interest was leather, plain or ornamented, white or brown, fastened over solid wooden boards, with raised bands four or five in number across the back. The sewing of the sheets and passing of the threads over these bands usually results in a firmness and permanence which no ordinary modern book possesses. Not infrequently the solid oak sides may have given way under violent treatment, while the sewing remains perfectly sound. In general, however, the oak sides are as permanent as the back, and the solid pegging, by which the parchment strings projecting from the thread-sewn back are wedged into the small square holes and grooves cut in the oak sides is a sight worth seeing for workmanship

[1] Madan, *Books in Manuscript*, p. 49.

and indestructibility. But for appearance sake in mediæval times the finest books received an ivory, silver or even gold binding, and the sides were carved or worked into embossed figures and set with jewels ; and sometimes even wooden sides were highly ornamented. Thus the Latin Gospel of St. John, taken from the tomb of St. Cuthbert and now at Stonyhurst, is described as bound (in the tenth or eleventh centuries) in boards of thin wood covered with red leather.[1] Leo III., in the beginning of the ninth century, gave a copy of the Gospels[2] so ornamented with gold and precious stones that it weighed 17 lb. 4 oz. ; Benedict III. gave one to the church of St. Calistus adorned with gold and silver of nearly the same weight. In Ireland, but rarely elsewhere, we find a " theca " or " cumdach," a case in which a volume was kept ; and on this, instead of the volume itself, the richest work was lavished. It is pleasant to read that in the twelfth century England was before all foreign nations in binding—London, Winchester, and Durham having distinctive styles.

The great value of the bindings of some mediæval books subjected them to a peculiar danger—that of excrustation, the stripping off of the binding, the loss of which was extremely likely to cause the destruction of the manuscript itself. This risk, of course, various things—charity and need, as well as cupidity—were likely to produce. William de Longchamp, who became Bishop of Ely in 1190, contributed 160 marks towards the redemption of King Richard, and to raise the money, pawned thirteen copies of the Gospels, including one of great value which had belonged to King Edgar. Again, Nigel, Bishop of Ely in the reign of King Stephen, pledged for his own purpose a " *textus aureus*," belonging to the church of Ely, to the Jews at Cambridge. So too Henry, Bishop of Winchester from 1129–74, got the Abbey of Hide into his hands, and amongst other evil deeds, stripped ten copies of the Gospels.

The great increase of books during the fourteenth and

[1] Madan, *loc. cit.*, p. 41. [2] Maitland, *loc. cit.*, p. 72.

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LIBRARY, MERTON COLLEGE, OXFORD.

fifteenth centuries necessitated better arrangements for storing them. It should be noted that the erection of a library proper was an afterthought in many of the older colleges, as it had been in the monasteries.

For instance, at Merton College, Oxford, founded 1264, the library was not begun till 1377; at University College, founded 1280, in 1440; at Balliol, founded 1282, in 1431; at Oriel College, founded 1324, in 1444; at Pembroke College, Cambridge, founded 1347, in 1452. The beautiful library at Wells Cathedral, over the east cloisters, was built by Bishop Bubwith's executors out of funds provided by his will, dated 11th October, 1424: the library at Durham Cathedral by Prior Wessington, between the years 1416–46. William of Wykeham, who founded New College, Oxford, in 1380, was the first to include a library in his quadrangle; and after the example had been set by him, the plan of every subsequent college includes a library of sufficient dimensions to last till the Reformation, if not till the present day. There can be little doubt that the internal fittings of collegiate and monastic libraries would be identical.

The library which a monastery or a college built in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries was a long, narrow room, lighted by rows of equidistant windows. Occasionally, if neighbouring buildings allowed, there was a window at the end of the room also. If an old room was adapted or new one built, it was generally over existing buildings, as at Bury and Wells over the cloisters. The fittings were lecterns of wood. On these the books were laid, each volume being fastened by a chain to a bar, usually placed over the desk, but occasionally, in all probability, in front of or beneath it. The readers sat on benches immovably fixed opposite to each window. This system was in use at Bury, and at Pembroke and Queen's Colleges, Cambridge.

Such a system was very wasteful of space, for when books accumulated, some other piece of furniture had to be devised to contain them. The desk could not be dispensed with so

long as books were chained, and it therefore occurred to an ingenious carpenter that the required conditions would be fulfilled if the two halves of the desk were separated, not by a few inches, but by a considerable interval or broad shelf, with one or more shelves fixed above it. Thus a case was arrived at containing four shelves at least, two to each side of the case, which could be made as long as the width of the library permitted. Mr. J. W. Clark calls this system "the stall system," from the word *staulum*, which is frequently applied to a case for books in a mediæval library.

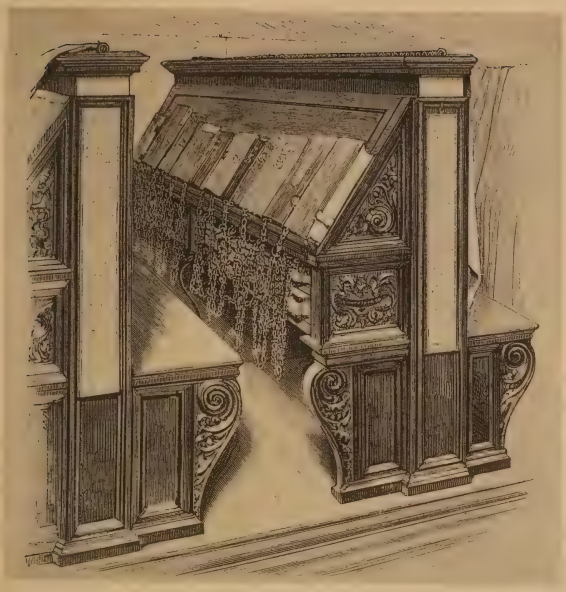
There are five fine examples of this system (which was probably monastic in its origin) at Oxford; none at Cambridge, where it is to be noted that monastic influence was never extensively exercised. There was a set at Clare College, supplied to the old library about 1627, but they have since been altered by the removal of the desks. Those at Oxford are at Corpus Christi College (1517), St. John's College (1596), Sir T. Bodley's Library (1598), Merton College (1623), Jesus College (1677–9), Magdalen College (of uncertain date).

While the stall system was being generally adopted in England and in France, a different plan was being adopted in Italy. It consisted in a return to the "lectern system," with the addition of a shelf below the lectern, on which the books lay on their sides when not wanted, and an ingenious combination of a seat for the reader with the desk and shelf.

The earliest library fitted up in this manner appears to be at Cesena, a city of north Italy, between Forli and Ravenna. Built in 1452, it is practically in its original condition.

The Medicean Library, Florence (designed by Michelangelo, and completed in 1571), is of this type; for convenience and for appropriate decoration it stands alone among libraries.

Mr. J. W. Clark says that the first library with the bookshelves arranged against the wall instead of at right angles to them is that of the Escorial, the cases being made in 1584; the first instance in England being that of the Bodleian



MEDICEAN LIBRARY, FLORENCE.

LIBRARY OF THE ESCORIAL.

Library, where the first stone of the eastern wing was laid in 1610, and completed with the fittings in 1612.

The arrangement of the library at Titchfield Abbey in Hants, described in the register of the monastery itself in A.D. 1400, is against this view of Mr. Clark's, who thinks, however, they were merely put as they were for security only, and not for study.[1] The description in the register, translated, runs: "There are in the library of Tychefeld four cases in which to place books, of which two, the first and second, are on the eastern face; on the southern face is the third, and on the northern face the fourth, and each of them has eight shelves, marked with a letter and number affixed on the front of each shelf: then follow full details of the lettering and numbering, and of the classes of the book and their order."

Sir Christopher Wren, in the fine libraries built by him, was the first English architect who ventured to make windows which, as he said himself when building the library of Trinity College, Cambridge, "rise high and give place for the desks against the walls."

We have small materials for ascertaining the numbers of volumes in mediæval libraries; we read of a *copiosissimus numerus*, and an *ingens bibliotheca*, but numbers are wanting for the most part. We have some clues, however, in catalogues and other notices of libraries.

When the Abbey of Peterborough was burned by the Danes in the year 870,[2] there was a large collection of books destroyed—*sanctorum librorum ingens bibliotheca*—so Ingulph of Croyland says. What his idea of a great library was it is not easy to say; but he uses no such expression in speaking of the library of 700 volumes belonging to his own monastery, which was burned in his own time, that is in A.D. 1091.

Dr. James[3] estimates the number at Bury as about 2,000; at Syon there were 1,461 volumes; at Peterborough 1,700; at Durham, St. Albans, Winchester, Glastonbury, and perhaps

[1] Madan, *loc. cit.*, p. 78. [2] Maitland, *loc. cit.*, p. 229.
[3] *On the Abbey of St. Edmund at Bury*, p. 3.

one or two more great abbeys, the number was probably larger.

Titchfield Abbey was a Præmonstratensian house founded in the thirteenth century, and never specially rich or prominent; yet we find it with a good library of 68 volumes in Theology, 39 in Canon and Civil Law, 29 in Medicine, 37 in Arts, in all 326 volumes, many containing several treatises, so that the total number of works was considerably over one thousand.

At Christ Church, Canterbury, the catalogue made between 1285 and 1331 enumerates about 1,850 books or treatises. The catalogue of Llantony Priory in 1380 shows 500 volumes, that of Flaxley Abbey (undated) about 80.

The catalogue appended to Bishop Bateman's statutes for Trinity Hall, dated 1350, enumerates 84 volumes classed under subjects in two divisions, viz. those presented to the College for the immediate use of the Fellows, and those reserved for the Bishop's use during his own life.

King's Hall Catalogue,	dated	1394,	shows	87 vols.
Peterhouse	,,	1418	,,	380 vols.
Univ. Library	,,	1424	,,	122 vols.
King's College	,,	1453	,,	174 vols.
Queen's College	,,	1472	,,	199 vols.
Univ. Library	,,	1473	,,	300 vols.

St. Catharine's Hall Catalogue (end of fifteenth century) shows 104 volumes, of which 85 were given by the founder.

Some of the regulations as to the use of books in mediæval times are of great interest. The Canons of Ælfric, written between the years 992 and 1001, were addressed to Wulfin,[1] Bishop of Sherborne, and were in such a form that he might communicate them to his clergy as a kind of episcopal charge. The 21st canon orders: "Every priest also before he is ordained, must have the arms belonging to his spiritual work—namely the Psalter, the Book of Epistles

[1] Maitland, *loc. cit.*, p. 28.

and the Book of Gospels, the Missal, the Book of Hymns, the Manual, the Calendar, the Passional, the Pœnitential and the Lectionary. These books a priest requires and cannot do without, if he would properly fulfil his office, and desires to teach the law to the people belonging to him. And let him carefully see that they are well written."

In the 48th chapter of the Rule of St. Benedict,[1] *of daily manual labour* we read: "Idleness is the enemy of the soul; hence brethren ought at certain seasons, to occupy themselves with manual labour, and again at certain hours, with holy reading. . . . Between Easter and the calends of October let them apply themselves to reading from the fourth hour till near the sixth hour. After the sixth hour, when they rise from table, let them rest on their beds in complete silence; or if any should wish to read to himself, let him do so in such a way as not to disturb anyone else. . . . From the calends of October to the beginning of Lent let them apply themselves to reading until the second hour. . . . During Lent, let them apply themselves to reading from morning until the end of the third hour . . . and in these days of Lent, let them receive a book apiece from the library, and read it straight through. These books are to be given out at the beginning of Lent. It is important that one or two seniors should be appointed to go round the monastery at the hours when brethren are engaged in reading, in case some ill-conditioned brother should be giving himself up to sloth or idle talk, instead of reading steadily, so that not only is he useless to himself, but incites others to do wrong."

To this Archbishop Lanfranc's statute for English Benedictines,[2] dated 1070, is supplementary; it was based, as he himself tells us, on the general monastic practice of his time:—

"On the Monday before the first Sunday in Lent, before brethren come into the Chapter House, the Librarian shall have a carpet laid down, and all the books got together upon

[1] Clark, *loc. cit.*, p. 14. [2] *Ibid.*, p. 35.

it, except those which a year previously had been assigned for reading. These brethren are to bring with them when they come into the Chapter House, each his book in his hand. . . . Then the librarian shall read a statement as to the manner in which brethren have had books during the past year. As each brother hears his name pronounced he is to give back the book which has been entrusted to him for reading; and he whose conscience accuses him of not having read the book through which he has received, is to fall on his face, confess his fault and entreat forgiveness.

"The librarian shall then make a fresh distribution of books, namely, a different volume to each brother for his reading."

We find Wm. Curteys, Abbot of Bury in 1429–45, setting forth in a mandate that books so given out as above had been lent, pledged, and even sold by the brethren, and prescribing punishment for the offenders; and by a further monition, he orders that within fifteen days of the notice[1] all library books in the possession of the monks are to be produced before the abbot, under pain of suspension from divine offices. In this instance the abbot recovered some of the books himself by paying a fine for them.

Both the Augustinians and the Præmonstratensians permit their books to be lent on the receipt of a pledge of sufficient value. Happily the terms of some loans have been set out in deeds which (or copies of which), being extant, have preserved for us the names of books in many libraries, *e.g.* Durham, Wells and Hinton.

To a request for a loan of books, an abbot replies: "Although you desire to have the books of Tully,[2] I know that you are Christian, and not a Ciceronian. But you go over to the camp of the enemy, not as a deserter, but as a spy. I should, therefore, have sent you the books of Tully which we have—*De Re Agraria*, *Phillipics* and *Epistles*—but that it is not our custom that any books should be lent to any

[1] James, *loc. cit.*, p. 110. [2] Maitland, *loc. cit.*, p. 175.

person without good pledges. Send us, therefore, the *Noctes Atticæ* of Aulus Gellius, and Origen *On the Canticles*.

The customs of St. Augustine's, Canterbury, written between 1310 and 1344, give a valuable contemporary picture of the organisation of one of the more important cloister libraries. The care of the presses is to be entrusted to the Precentor and his subordinate, called the Succentor. The former is to have a seat in front of the press—which doubtless stood against the wall—and his carrel is to stand at no great distance, on the stone between the piers of the arches next the cloister-garth. The Succentor is to have his seat and his carrel on the bench near the press, by which the bench which commonly ran along the cloister wall is obviously meant. These arrangements are made in order that these two officers, or at least one of them, may always be at hand to satisfy brethren who make any demand upon their time. In other words, they were the librarian and sub-librarian, who were to be always ready to answer questions. It is clear that brethren were not allowed to handle books as they pleased.

The advantages of a library were never set out to any age more clearly than by Richard de Bury (Dean of Wells in 1333, afterwards Bishop of Durham) in his *Philobiblon* (written in 1344), in the chapter on the *"Complaint of Books against the Clergy already promoted.,'* "Having given you Grammar to suckle you, next we clad you with the goodly garments of philosophy, rhetoric and dialectic, of which we had and have a store, while ye were naked as a tablet to be painted on. For all the household of philosophy are clothed with garments, that the nakedness and rawness of the intellect may be covered. After this, providing you with the fourfold wings of the quadrivials that ye might be winged like the seraphs, and so mount above the cherubim, we sent you to a friend at whose door, if only ye importunately knocked, ye might borrow the three loaves of the knowledge of the Trinity, in which consists the final felicity of every sojourner below."

Who could refuse to follow so charming a leader into the

thorny ways of mediæval learning, the course of which, as hinted above, was twain, or rather sevenfold: the trivium including grammar, dialectic and rhetoric—the introductory arts; the quadrivium, the four sciences of music, arithmetic, geometry and astronomy.

You must bear with me while I make a further and somewhat long quotation from this book; but it throws such a vivid light on the student of the time, that I cannot resist it. In his chapter "*Of showing due Propriety in the custody of Books*," the Bishop, after adducing reasons why books should be well treated, goes on:—

"Wherefore we deem it expedient to warn our students of various negligences, which might always be easily avoided, and do wonderful harm to books.

"And in the first place, as to the opening and closing of books, let there be due moderation, that they be not unclasped in precipitate haste, nor when we have finished our inspection be put away without being duly closed. For it behoves us to guard a book much more carefully than a boot.

"But the race of scholars is commonly badly brought up, and unless they are bridled in by the rules of their elders, they indulge in infinite puerilities. They behave with petulance, and are puffed up with presumption, judging of everything as if they were certain, though they are altogether inexperienced.

"You may happen to see some head-strong youth lazily lounging over his studies . . . he distributes a multitude of straws, which he inserts to stick out in different places, so that the palm may remind him of what his memory cannot retain. These straws, because the book has no stomach to digest them, and no one takes them out, first distend the book from its wonted closing, and at length, being carelessly abandoned to oblivion, go to decay. He does not fear to eat fruit or cheese over an open book, or carelessly to carry a cup to and from his mouth; and because he has no wallet at hand he drops into books the fragments that are left. Continually

chattering, he is never weary of disputing with his companions, and while he alleges a crowd of senseless arguments, he wets the book lying half open in his lap with sputtering showers. Aye, and then hastily folding his arms he leans forward on the book, and by a brief spell of study invites a prolonged nap ; and then by way of mending the wrinkles, he folds back the margin of the leaves, to the no small injury of the book. Now the rain is over and gone, and the flowers have appeared in our land. Then the scholar we are speaking of, a neglector rather than an inspector of books, will stuff his volume with violets and primroses, with roses and quatrefoil. Then he will use his wet and perspiring hands to turn over the volumes ; then he will thump the white vellum with gloves covered with all kinds of dust, and with his finger clad in long-used leather will hunt line by line through the page ; then at the sting of the biting flea the sacred book is flung aside, and is hardly shut for another month, until it is so fully of the dust that has found its way within, that it resists the effort to close it. . . . Let not a crying child admire the pictures in the capital letters, lest he soil the parchment with wet fingers : for a child instantly touches whatever he sees. Moreover the laity who look at a book turned upside down just as if it were open in the right way, are utterly unworthy of any communion with books."

And so delightfully on and on, that it is hard to part from the good Bishop.

Of the terrible sacrifice of books at the dissolution of the monasteries, there is, perhaps, no better statement than that of Bale in his preface to Leland's *New Year's Gift :* " Never had we bene offended for the losse of our lybraryes, beynge so many in nombre, and in so desolate places for the more parte, yf the chiefe monumentes and most notable workes of our excellent wryters, had bene reserved. If there had bene in every shyre of England, but one solemne lybrary, to the preservacyon of those noble workes, and preferrement of good lernynges in our posteryte, it had bene yet sumwhat. But to

destroye all without consyderacyon, is and wyll be unto Englande for ever, a most horryble infamy, among the grave senyours of other nacyons. A great nombre of them whych purchased those superstycyouse mansyons, reserved of those lybrarye bokes, some to serve theyr jakes, some to scour theyr candelstyckes, and some to rubbe their bootes. Some they solde to the grossers and sope sellers, and some they sent over see to ye bokebynders, not in smal nombre, but at tymes whole shyppes full, to the wonderynge of the foren nacyons. Yea, the unyversytees of thys realme, are not all clere in this detestable fact. . . . I knowe a merchant man, whych shall at thys tyme be namelesse, that bought the contents of two noble lybraryes for XL shyllyngs pryce, a shame it is to be spoken. Thys stuffe hath he occupyed in the stede of graye paper by the space of these more than X yeares, and yet he hath store ynough for as many yeares to come. A prodygyouse example is this, and to be abhorred of all men whych love their nacyon as they should do."

The universities, though untouched by the suppression, were not allowed to remain long at peace. In 1549 commissioners were sent by Edward VI. to Oxford and Cambridge. They considered that it fell within their province to reform the libraries as well as those who used them, and they did their work with a thoroughness that under other circumstances would have been worthy of commendation. Anthony Wood has told us in eloquent periods, where sorrow struggles with indignation, how the college libraries were treated; how manuscripts, which had nothing superstitious about them except a few rubricated initials, were carried through the city on biers to the market-place, and there consumed. Of the treatment meted out to the public library of the university he gives an almost identical account. This library—now the central portion of the Bodleian—had been completed about 1480. It was well stocked with manuscripts of value, the most important of which, in number about 600, had been given by Humphrey, Duke of Gloucester, between 1439 and

1446. His collection was that of a cultivated layman, and was comparatively poor in theological literature. Yet in this home of all that was noble in literature and splendid in art (for the Duke's copies are said to have been the finest that could be bought) did this crew of ignorant fanatics cry havoc, with such fatal success that only three manuscripts now survive;[1] and on January 25th, 1555–6, certain members of Convocation were appointed "to sell, in the name of the university, the book-desks in the public library. The books had all disappeared. What need then to retain the shelves and stalls, when no one thought of replacing their contents, and when the university could turn an honest penny by their sale?"

As an illustration of the number of manuscripts changing hands by some means or other, we read that Stephen Batman, on page 400 of his book *The Doom*, asserted that he collected 6,700 books for the Archbishop of Canterbury in a term of four years. We should gladly have known whence these came and what they were; it is something that they were saved at all.

[1] Sufficient has been said above, I think, to show the eagerness and anxiety of the monks to obtain books, whether by gift, purchase or copying; to show also the loving care they took of such books as they had. Mr. Augustine Birrell says in his book, *In the name of the Bodleian*, in reference to this very atrocity: "True it is that, for the most part, the contents of the library had been rescued from miserable ill-usage in the monasteries and chapter-houses, where they had their first habitation." Is it too much to say that this is as untrue as it is wanton and ungenerous.

The statement seems the more unhappy here, as it is as certain as it can be that few, if any, of the books came from monasteries, many having come from the library of the King of France. And where and when were books stored in a chapter-house?

MONUMENTAL EFFIGIES.

By IDA M. ROPER.

RURAL DEANERY OF WINCHCOMBE.

ASHCHURCH CHURCH—Dedicated to St. Nicholas.

WILLIAM FERRERS, A.D. 1625.

1. Civilian.
2. Half length of upright effigy.
3. Stone.
4. Life-size.
5. The figure is dressed as a citizen of London in a short pointed doublet, fastened down the centre by twenty-two buttons, and finished off below the waist by points, tied in bows with aiglets, the tight sleeves ending in plain narrow muslin cuffs. Much of the figure is covered by a cloak or livery gown falling straight down the front with wide bands of fur. The full loose sleeves, high at the shoulders and edged with narrow fur, reach to the elbow, pendent ones being visible at the back. Round the neck is a turned-down ruff of three folds. The hair is worn short, the beard, whiskers and moustache are closely cropped, and the features are those of an old man. The right hand clasps a pair of gloves richly fringed round the top, and the left rests on a skull.

8. A mural monument, with the half-length figure looking out from within a very shallow arched recess, surmounted by a coat of arms and crest, and beneath the figure a square inscribed tablet, resting on a cherub's head, and scrollwork.

The arms are: "Argent on a bend gules, cotised azure three horseshoes or, a crescent for difference," FERRERS.

Crest: On esquire's helmet and wreath an ostrich, in the beak a horseshoe.

The shield rests on drapery, caught up on either side and tied in a bow and end.

9. Inscription round the arch of the canopy: "Live well & dye never: Dye well & live ever."

On an arch above this: "All must dye."

Inscription on panel:

"MEMORIÆ SACRUM.

"William Ferrers citizen of London, second son of Roger Ferrers of Fiddington gent: had 3 wives wth whom hee lived 50 yeares most lovingly: and by whom hee saw himself a happy Father & Grandfather. All his children dyed before him. Hee preferred many of his brothers of his kindred & of his countrymen & left behinde him severall workes of Piety; as to ye Poore of this place wheare he was borne £10 per annum to a Preacher in this Parish & to ye mendinge of ye highwayes about Fiddington to every one £5 yearly for ever. Moreover hee gave £30 yearly for ever towardes a Free schoole in Tewxbury & £5 per annum to ye poore of y^t^ place wth severall guiftes to ye poore & other pius uses in & about London. Hee likewise gave large legacyes both in landes & monyes to his 3 grandchildren, brothers & kindred. Hee departed this life ye 26th day of September 1625 & lyes buryed in Allhallows Church in Lumbard Street London.

"Thomas Ferrers his brother & part Executor wth love & care built this small monument."

WILLIAM FERRERS, died 1625.

10. The features are painted flesh colour, the doublet and cloak black, the fur and gloves gold, and the ruff and cuffs white. The monument and skull are not painted.

11. The nose is chipped.

12. Built into the south wall of the nave.

13. No illustration is known. Inscription given in Rudder, *Gloucestershire*, page 236.

14. The figure is in good condition.

15. William Ferrers belonged to a family that had lived in Wiltshire for at least three generations, and removed before his birth from Corsham to Fiddington, a hamlet in the parish of Ashchurch, Gloucestershire. His parents were Roger Ferrers, died 1579, and Margaret, a daughter of Giles Badger of Fiddington.

William was the second son of the family, and apparently settled in London, and became a merchant and liveryman, and was buried there in 1625.[1] Amongst the benefactions in St. Nicholas, Ashchurch, it is recorded that in 1625 Mr. Wm. Ferrers gave ten pounds a year to the poor chargeable out of the Manor of Skellingthorpe in the county of Lincoln. This refers to the sum of £5 per annum mentioned in the inscription.

BISHOP'S CLEEVE CHURCH—Dedicated to St. Michael and All Angels.

A Knight, about A.D. 1270.

1. Military. Knight in armour cross-legged below the knee, right leg over left.

2. Recumbent effigy.

3. Freestone.

4. Life-size, 6 ft. 4 in. long.

5. The knight is enveloped in a complete suit of chain mail. The hauberk, which covers the body from the neck to the middle of the thighs, where it is slightly cut up, has long sleeves covering the hands, and a hood of mail protects the head and shoulders. Over the hauberk is worn a loose flowing surcoat, sleeveless and reaching nearly to the feet behind. It is shorter in front, cut open to above the knee, and probably girdled, but the position of the arm hides the cingulum.

The chausses of mail extend over the feet, and the prick

[1] *Glouc. Visitation*, 1623, p. 60, note.

spurs (gone) were held in position by straps passing over the instep. A wide sword-belt is loosely buckled in front supporting a long cross-hilted sword, and the details of the support are suggested by a small knot visible on the scabbard below. The method of keeping the sword in place was by fastening the long strap by a loop to the mouth of the scabbard, thence round the body and through the buckle in front; the loose end again passed over the scabbard with a loop, and was split into two parts. These parts, turned upwards, were laced through the first loop, and terminated from behind in a knot half-ways down the scabbard.[1]

Upon the left arm is borne upright a plain heater shield fastened by a broad guige, which passes towards the right shoulder and disappears beneath the hood of mail. The knight is in the act of drawing the sword, the right hand on the hilt, whilst the left, appearing from under the shield, steadies the scabbard.

6. The head rests on two pillows, the top one set diagonally.

7. The feet rest on a dog lying down.

8. The effigy, on a plain slab, is placed within a low-arched and cusped recess of the early fourteenth century, decorated with floriated crockets without a finial, and a border of ball flowers. At each side is a moulded pillar ending in a tabernacled pinnacle. The effigy is of an earlier date.

9. There is no inscription.

A KNIGHT of the time of Henry III.

Tradition has long assigned this effigy to Gilbert the Bold, Earl of Clare and Hertford, but it is on record that this earl died in 1295 and was buried at Tewkesbury.[2]

10. The whole of the mail was at one time stamped in gesso upon the plain stone surface, but all traces have now completely disappeared. The figure has been subjected to many coats of paint and scrapings.

11. The features are much worn. The right foot, the

[1] *Trans. B. & G. Arch. Soc.*, vol. iv. p. 243.

[2] Bigland, *Gloucestershire*, p. 376, note.

spurs and the dog's head are gone. The recess has been restored in part.

12. Placed in a recess on the south side of the south transept, now used as the priests' vestry.

13. Described and illustrated by Mr. Albert Hartshorne, *Trans. B. & G. Arch. Soc.*, vol. iv., page 243.; and Lyson, *Coll. of Gloucestershire Antiq.*, plate lviii.

14. The general condition is good, although much restored.

15. The knight represented by the effigy is unknown.

A Lady, about A.D. 1500.

1. Lady.
2. Recumbent effigy.
3. Freestone.
4. Life-size.

5. The effigy shows the costume of a lady of rank in the reign of Henry VII. The dress consists of the surcote or sideless gown tight-fitting to the hips, below which it falls in graceful folds to the feet. It is hollowed out at the sides and bordered with a narrow band of embroidery. Beneath is visible the tight-fitting côte-hardie with long tight sleeves, ending in plain turned-back cuffs. From the shoulders hangs a long loose mantle edged with embroidery, and fastened across the breast by a long cordon, passing through decorated eyelet holes placed in front of each shoulder; the tasselled ends join beneath the hands by a slide. The mantle is tucked under the arms and falls in graceful folds nearly to the feet. A deep gorget is loosely arranged round the neck, and on the head is the diamond-shaped hood, with wide, ungainly lappets reaching nearly to the elbow. Beneath is visible the braided hair on the forehead. The feet, in broad-toed shoes, are under the folds of the surcote, and the hands are in the attitude of prayer.

A similar head-dress is shown in the portrait of Margaret, Countess of Richmond, mother of Henry VII., now in the National Portrait Gallery.

6. The head rests on two large tasselled pillows, supported on either side by an angel sitting down, and curiously feathered to the feet. A third pillow, also tasselled, is placed under the shoulders.

7. The feet rest on a dog lying down.

8. The effigy, on a deep slab, is placed on the top step on the north side of the Delabere monument, and the feet enter a small recess made in the wall.

9. There is no inscription. Bigland, page 380, states that some Gothic characters, scarcely legible, are on the slab. They are now hidden.

An unknown LADY, about 1500.

10. The figure is not painted, but there are traces of red paint on the head-dress, the pillows and the angels.

11. The features are worn. The fingers of both hands are broken off, and the mantle is chipped.

12. Placed in the north-east corner of the south chapel within the rails of the Delabere monument. Rudder, page 373, describes it in the same place, and Bigland, page 380, note, states that it was removed from Southam Chapel.

13. No illustration known. Mentioned in *Trans. B. & G. Arch. Soc.*, vol. iv., pp. 24, 244 and 264.

14. It is in fair condition, but rather worn. It must have been originally a tasteful and dainty figure.

15. The person represented is not known.

RICHARD DELABERE and Wife, A.D. 1636.

1. Civilian and lady.

2. Recumbent effigies.

3. Alabaster, with pillars of black marble.

4. Life-size. Man 6 ft. long, lady 5 ft. 9 in. long.

5. The man wears a pointed doublet buttoned down the centre and tight at the waist, to which is fastened by six points and aiglets a separate short skirt. The sleeves are tight-fitting, are fastened at the wrist by five buttons, and end in small

ruffles. The waist is encircled by a jewelled belt, hooked in front. He wears full breeches gathered into a straight band above the knees, continued by tight hose fastened below by a garter of folded silk, edged with narrow lace. The feet have thick-soled shoes tied with a large bow of ribbon on the instep. Over all is a cloak to the feet thrown open on each side; it has plain sleeves to the elbow and long pendent ones, elaborately slashed with ribbons and rosettes; at the throat is a big falling ruff of four folds. The hair is long and curly, and the beard and moustache worn short. The hands are raised in the attitude of prayer.

The lady wears a full gown to the feet, girdled and fastened by a rosette, and open in front to show a plain but full kirtle. The tight-fitting bodice with a pointed stomacher is cut square with a pleated partlet above. The sleeves are very large and open to show the full under-sleeves, tight at the wrist with large ruffles. Round the neck is a deep falling ruff of two folds, and below a large jewelled fermail in the form of a rose. The hair is long and curly over the ears, and confined by a tight-fitting cap with a large coverchief, edged with vandyked lace, which falls down the back, and is brought forward on the hips like a mantle. The feet are in thick-soled shoes, and the hands are raised in prayer. The features of both effigies are very good, and probably would be portraits.

6. The head and shoulders of the figures rest on two large tasselled cushions edged with narrow fancy cording.

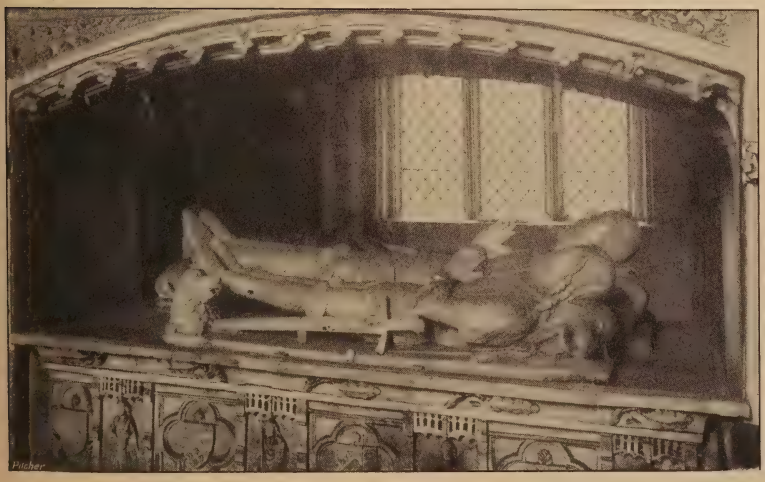
7. The man's feet rest on the crest: A plume of five feathers issuing from a ducal coronet and wreath.

The lady's feet rest on a filigree basket of roses and foliage.

8. The monument is a large and costly example of seventeenth-century work, and was erected by the widow at a cost of £400. The effigies recline on a high altar tomb, raised on two steps within a shallow semi-circular arcade, supported by four Corinthian pillars on tall plinths, each decorated with a winged hour-glass on a skull. Between the pillars there are four medallions, each with a figure in bas-relief twelve inches

Berkeley Church. *Page* 147.

Thomas III, 8th Lord Berkeley, and Katherine his Wife.



Berkeley Church. *Page* 153.

James I, 11th Lord Berkeley, and his son James.

Page 162.

Berkeley Church.

Berkeley Church. *Page* 157.

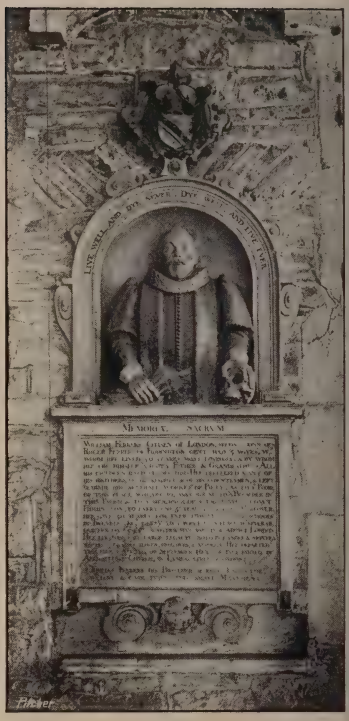
Henry I, 17th Lord Berkeley, and Katherine his Wife.

Frampton-on-Severn Church. *Page* 169.

Frampton-on-Severn Church. *Page* 166.

Page 170.

North Nibley Church.
Grace Smith.



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Ashchurch Church.
William Ferrers.

Bishop's Cleeve Church.

Page 232.

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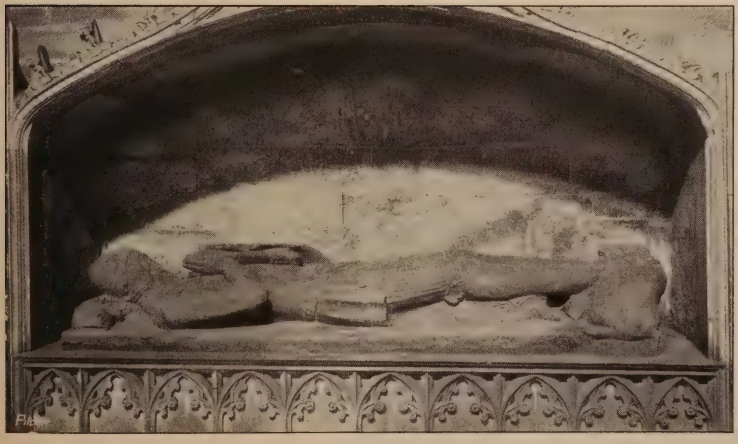
Tewkesbury Abbey.

Hugh, 5th Baron Despenser,
and his Wife, Elizabeth.

Page 235.

Bishop's Cleeve Church.

Richard Delabere and Margaret,
his Wife.



Tewkesbury Abbey.

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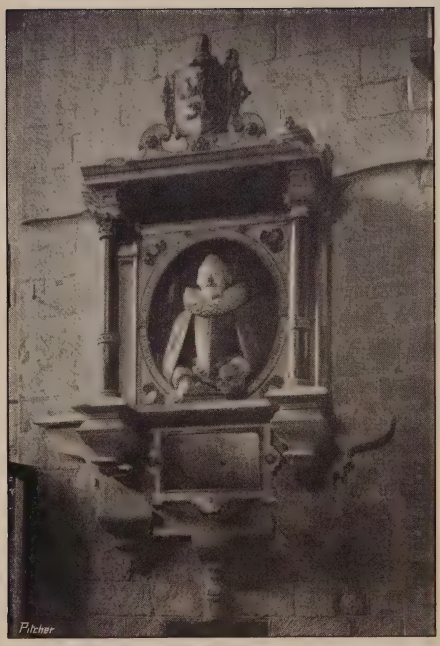

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Tewkesbury Abbey.
John Roberts.

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Tewkesbury Abbey.
Edward, 6th Baron Despenser.

Tewkesbury Abbey.
Guy de Brien, Lord Welwyn.

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Page 255.

Twining Church.
Sybil Clare.

Tewkesbury Abbey.

Page 252.

Page 261.

Winchcombe Church.
Thomas Williams.

Page 258.

Twining Church.
William Hancock and his Sons, William and Charles.

high. On the right, Faith holding a book, and Hope with an anchor and dove; on the left, Charity with two children, and Peace holding an olive branch. Above the architrave is a large panel containing the escutcheon and crest, with two figures two feet high, beautifully sculptured and standing on pedestals between slender pillars. Above again is a plain oval panel, topped by the crest on a larger scale. The figure on the right is Justice, in flowing drapery, holding a pair of scales in the left hand; and on the left Strength, in loose drapery with a quiver of arrows slung across the shoulder, and the left hand resting on a column. The back of the arcade contains a rectangular tablet with no inscription, and surrounded by fourteen small shields bearing arms; on the upper part are festoons of pears, supporting one of the shields, and below it two clasped hands, holding a tasselled ribbon, on which are threaded two wedding rings.

The front and side of the tomb are divided into panels by plain pilasters, and the whole is enclosed within a high iron grille.

The heraldry is as follows:—

On the escutcheon: Quarterly of 8 (Bigland reads 9).

(1) "Azure a bend argent cotised or between six martlets of the last," DELABERE.

(2) "Gules a bend argent a chief chequy azure and or," ? HUNSTED.

(3) "Azure semée of eight crosses crosslet a lion rampant argent langued gules," DE KYNARDISLEY.

(4) "Gules on a chief argent three martlets sable," CHABBENORE.

(5) "Gules three compony and paly argent and sable," BARRE.

(6) "Barry of six or and azure a bend gules," PENBRUGE.

(7) "Azure a fess wavy between six dolphins naiant embowed argent," NEWMAN.

(8) "Argent two bendlets gules and a cinquefoil in sinister chief sable," ? IRETON.

Crest: On esquire's helmet and wreath with heavy mantling, out of a ducal coronet or, a plume of five feathers per pale of the first and azure.

On a shield hanging from festoons (number 4): DELABERE impaling NEWMAN and ? IRETON.

On the thirteen small shields, starting above on the left in rows: (1) DE LA BERE. (2) ? HUNSTED. (3) DE LA BERE. (5) NEWMAN. (6) DE KYNARDISLEY. (7) CHABBENORE. (8) "Gules fretty argent," HUDDLESTON. (9) BARRE. (10) DE LA BERE impaling "Gules a bend ermine," WALWYN. (11) DE LA BERE impaling HUDDLESTON. (12) ? IRETON. (13) NEWMAN. (14) PENBRUGE.[1]

9. There is no inscription.

Known to be RICHARD DELABERE, died February 25th, 1636, and Margaret, his wife.[2]

10. There is no painting, but the ornamentations are gilded.

11. The buttons of the man's doublet are worn away, except three at the waist, and the crest at his feet is chipped. The legs have been repaired. The lady's hands are restored.

One of the panels on the front of the tomb is inscribed: "Repaired in the year 1803 by Thomas Baghott de la Bere Esq:"

12. Placed at the east end of the south chapel against the wall.

13. No illustration is known.

14. The monument is in very good condition.

15. About 1550 there was living at Kynersley Kenard Delabere, a younger son of the family, who had a son Richard. This Richard is the person commemorated by the effigy. He was a barrister-at-law of Lincoln's Inn, and married Margaret, daughter and heiress of John Newman of Billington, Worcestershire. In 1607 he bought Southam, Gloucestershire, and took up the rights of lord of the manor in that year. This manor

[1] *Trans. B. & G. Arch. Soc.*, vol. xxviii. pp. 90, 91.

[2] Atkyns, *Gloucestershire*, p. 185.

was adjacent to Southam House, which was owned by Richard's first cousin, Kenard Delabere, through his marriage about 1550 with Eleanor Huddlestone, heiress of that estate. Richard died in 1636 without issue, and the Manor of Southam then passed to his nephew of Southam House as next heir male, the two estates thus becoming merged. Richard Delabere was never a knight because he was fined £25 for refusing that honour at the coronation of Charles I.[1]

GROUNDS OF FORTHAMPTON COURT, near TEWKESBURY.

A member of the DE LA ZOUCH family, about A.D. 1300.

1. Military. Knight, cross-legged below the knee.
2. Recumbent effigy.
3. Stone.
4. More than life-size, 7 ft. 10 in. long.
5. The knight wears a suit of chain mail. The hauberk has long sleeves and extends over the head, which is further protected by a helmet with the visor raised. A loose flowing surcoat reaches below the knees, and is cut up nearly to the waist. The chausses of mail cover the legs and feet, and the prick spurs (gone) were held in position by straps. A large heater shield is borne upright on the left arm, and is suspended by a guige passing over the right shoulder. There are traces of a coat of arms, "Bezanty," DE LA ZOUCH. A wide sword-belt is loosely buckled in front and is attached to the middle of a scabbard, which lies on the body in the same direction, and steadied by the left hand from beneath the shield. With his right hand the knight is probably sheathing the sword, but the pommel and crosshilt are broken off.
6. The head rests on a block of stone.
7. The feet rest on a lion lying down and facing the knight.
8. The effigy is placed on a high altar tomb raised on three steps. On the upper row of the front are five cusped panels,

[1] *Trans. B. & G. Arch. Soc.*, vol. xxviii. p. 56 ; *Gloucestershire Visitation*, p. 49, note.

the three central ones containing shields with arms, and the others a raised cinquefoil. In the lower plain row are four angels on stone blocks holding shields without arms. On either side of the tomb is a large grotesque head or gargoyle.

The arms on the three shields are: (*a*) "Three chevrons," CLARE; (*b* and *c*) "Three piles meeting in base," BRIEN.

9. There is no inscription. Supposed to be a member of the De la Zouch family about 1300. The arms on the shield of the knight are those of the De la Zouch family, whilst those on the front of the tomb point to a connection with the Clare and Brien families.

The De la Zouches and the Clares were both descended from families from Brittany, and the Briens are known to have been connections of the Clares.[1]

10. The rings of mail were stamped with gesso, but have quite disappeared.

11. The figure is in a very weather-worn condition, and is overgrown with moss and lichen. It is not damaged, except that the top of the sword and the spurs are gone. The angels on the front of the tomb and the grotesque figures at the sides are not part of the original tomb.

12. Erected in the grounds of Forthampton Court. The effigy is supposed to have been taken from the Lady Chapel of the Abbey Church of Tewkesbury.[2]

13. No illustration is known.

14. The effigy is in a very bad condition, and the details of the costume are difficult to trace.

15. It is not known which member of the De la Zouch family is here represented.

THE ABBEY CHURCH, TEWKESBURY—Dedicated to St. Mary the Virgin.

A Priest, about A.D. 1250.

1. Ecclesiastical. Priest in choral vestments.

2. Remains of a recumbent effigy in high relief.

[1] Blunt, *History of Tewkesbury Abbey*, p. 66, note. [2] Ibid., p. 67, note.

3. Stone.

4. Life-size, but only 20 inches of the middle of the figure remain.

5. The figure evidently wore a surplice, the wide sleeves falling over the arms and showing beneath them the tight sleeves of the cassock. The hands are placed over a book resting on the breast.

8. The figure is carved on a piece of a rectangular slab, now built into the wall.

9. There are the remains of some lettering on the right-hand border, but they form no inscription.

A PRIEST, about 1250.

10. There are no signs of painting.

11. Only the middle of the body remains.

12. Built into the east wall of St. Nicholas Chapel, now used as the choir vestry.

13. Mentioned in *Trans. B. & G. Arch. Soc.*, vol. ix., page 70.

14. It is in good condition.

HUGH, 5TH BARON DESPENSER, A.D. 1349, and Lady.

1. Military. Knight in armour.
   Lady.

2. Recumbent effigies.

3. White alabaster.

4. Life-size. Man, 6 ft. 4 in. long; lady, 6 ft. 2 in. long.

5. The knight is encased in a mixed suit of chain and plate as worn about 1350. On the head is a round bascinet, an early example, with a camail of chain, attached by a lace, passing through long staples. A hauberk reaches to the middle of the thighs, with sleeves which show at the armpits beneath the tight-fitting jupon. This garment is plain, and no longer charged with a coat of arms. The shoulders are further protected by epaulières of three plates, the arms by hinged brassarts and vambraces with small coudes. The hands are covered with gauntlets, with small cuffs of three

plates. The legs are cased in cuisses, and jambs of plate over the chausses of mail, which are visible at the instep; the genouillères are rounded, and the feet have articulated solerets with straps for the spurs. A plain sword-belt round the waist is fastened by a large buckle, and through it a much mutilated sword is slung by a loop, with remains of a single locket attached to the top of the scabbard. The hands are in the attitude of prayer. The knight is represented as a youthful and beardless man, and it is probably a portrait.

The lady wears a sideless gown to the feet, fastened down the centre by seven large round buttons. Beneath is visible the tight-fitting côte-hardie, low at the neck, with long tight sleeves fastened from the wrist to above the elbow by a row of tiny buttons. From the shoulders hangs a loose mantle, reaching nearly to the feet, but with no sign of fastening. The head-dress is the nebulé, square at the top, and with folds intended to represent frills. The hair is confined in a caul or close cap, and forms a kind of frame to the face, reaching far below the chin. Resting on the shoulders are shown two balls or cushions, probably confining escaped tresses, between which and the upper part of the head-dress a folded veil appears at the sides. The feet are covered with very pointed shoes, visible beneath the folds of the gown. The arms are mutilated, but they were probably in the attitude of prayer. This is also a portrait, and both figures are delicately carved, producing a simple and pleasing effect.

A similar head-dress is shown on the brass of Joan de la Pole, 1370, Creshall, Essex.

6. The knight's head rests on a tilting helm with crest: A winged griffin's head rising from a coronet.

The lady's head rests on two tasselled pillows, the top one set diagonally.

7. The knight's feet rest on a lion lying down and facing the figure, and the lady's on a hound lying down.

8. The effigies are placed on a high altar tomb under a canopy of choice late Decorated work. It consists of four tiers

of open arches, each diminishing upwards till the last terminates in a point. All are richly decorated with crockets, finials and high pinnacles, and the whole forms a very elegant and beautiful structure of the middle of the fourteenth century. The roof over the figures is a fan vault of the simplest kind, each fan having only four ribs, and together forming arches whose slender shafts are brought down to divide the two figures. The front of the tomb is divided, by small cusped panels, into six narrow arched niches, with pedestals for statuettes. Round the top of the edge is a soffit of billets. The monument, including the effigies, was erected by the widow, Lady Elizabeth.

9. There is no inscription.

Known to be HUGH, 5TH BARON DESPENSER, died 1349, and ELIZABETH MONTACUTE, his wife, died 1359.[1]

10. The canopy and front of tomb were formerly painted; traces of blue and red are still visible, especially on the vaulting. The coat of arms on the jupon was tinctured as late as 1789.

11. The male figure has the nose, the left genouillère, and most of the sword broken off. The edge of the hauberk is chipped.

The lady has the right arm broken off from the shoulder, and the left hand. The edge of the mantle is chipped. Some of the delicate tracery of the canopy is broken off, and the shafts of the fan-vaulting are strengthened by iron ties. The monument was restored in 1828, when it was in a very dilapidated condition.[2]

12. Placed in the third, and most eastern bay of the north arcade of the ambulatory.

13. Male effigy illustrated in Gough, *Sepulchral Monuments of Great Britain*, part ii., page 256; by Mr. Albert Hartshorne in *Trans. B. & G. Arch. Soc.*, vol. iv., page 237.

Tomb illustrated in Dingley, *History from Marble* (Camden Society), vol. ii., page cccxl.; plates by S. Wale (1745), and in the county histories.

[1] Blunt, *History of Tewkesbury Abbey*, p. 68, note. [2] Ibid., p. 123.

14. The monument is in good condition and well cared for.

15. Hugh, Lord Despenser, was the 5th Baron and 3rd le Despenser of the Tewkesbury Chronicle, and was born about 1322. His father, Hugh Despenser the younger, was executed on 29th October, 1326, and on the death of his mother, Eleanor de Clare, about 1337, he became Lord of Tewkesbury. He died in February, 1348–9, and in those few years was distinguished in naval warfare. He married Elizabeth Montacute, daughter of the Earl of Salisbury, who was already the widow, since 1337, of Giles, the last Lord Badlesmere, and left no children. The widow retained the lordship of Tewkesbury until her death, in 1359, and meanwhile married Guy de Brien, Lord Welwyn. She died at Ashley, in Hampshire, and, according to her directions, was buried alongside her second husband as above.[1]

A Knight, about A.D. 1350.

1. Military. Knight in armour.
2. Recumbent effigy.
3. Freestone.
4. More than life-size, 7 ft. 3 in. in length.
5. The knight wears a mixed suit of chain and plate, as worn at the middle of the fourteenth century, and is one of the five known figures dressed in "banded mail." A hauberk reaches to the middle of the thighs, and below is visible the gambeson; over is worn a jupon, full on the hips, and fastened on the right side by four square clasps. The fulness marks the transition from the skirted to the tight-fitting jupon. It is charged with the arms, "A chevron between three leopards' faces, langued." On the head is a pointed bascinet of an early form, with the sides made low, and decorated with a narrow jewelled orle. A camail of "banded mail" is attached to it by a cord running through staples on the bascinet and the engrailed edging of the camail.

[1] Blunt, *History of Tewkesbury Abbey*, pp. 67, 68.

The "banded mail" was made by sewing in successive rows rings of metal upon linen or fustian, the rings overlapping each other, so as to prevent the penetration of the sword-point. In the present effigy the lower edge of the camail is shown overlapping the jupon by a row of rings only. This kind of mail is only found represented in four other effigies in England, although common on brasses and in manuscripts.

Over the long sleeves of the hauberk are apparently extra sleeves of fine leather, thick linen or fustian, fastened in places by ribbons, and probably forming part of the jupon. On the forearm is a tight-fitting covering, perhaps of the same material, with deep gauntlets of leather and strips of plate. The thighs are protected by studded armour or jazerant. This light armour in this effigy appears to represent a covering of silk or velvet over a padded garment of cloth, strengthened by longitudinal strips or splints of metal, the whole fastened by studs to a backing of canvas. There are plain genouillères of plate, and the legs now appear smooth, perhaps having jambes of cuir bouilli. The feet are plain, being the remains of the mail cuisses, and show straps for the spurs. Round the waist is a narrow belt of square ornaments, fastened on the left side by a larger one. The sword-belt, wider and decorated at intervals with quatrefoils, passes obliquely over the jupon and is buckled on the left side, the end, with its ornamental scape, being looped under it. On the left, passing through the belt, is a long sword with cross-hilt and wheel-shaped pommel. Held upright on the left arm is a heater shield, charged like the jupon, and fastened to a narrow decorated guige which passes over the right shoulder. The hands are in the attitude of prayer, and the moustache is worn long.

6. The head rests on a tilting helm, surmounted by the crest: Out of a ducal coronet a lion's head langued.

7. The feet rest on a lion lying down facing the figure.

8. The effigy, on its slab, is placed on an altar tomb within a shallow recess, with a plain background and vaulting,

and surmounted by an ogee-shaped crocketed arch with a quatrefoil in the centre, and ending in a handsome finial of four sets of foliage.

The front of the tomb has a row of ten narrow cusped panels. The canopy is of a later date than the effigy.

9. There is no inscription.

An unknown KNIGHT, about 1350.

The effigy has long been ascribed in error to Lord Wenlock, died 1471, as was clear to Stothard in 1813. Mr. A. Hartshorne discusses its identity, and puts forward, on the suggestion of Mr. St. Clair Baddeley, that it represents a member of a family of Burley, of the time of Edward III. Its author, however, is satisfied on further investigation that this idea is untenable, and is unable to offer any other identification. He has kindly pointed out that about the right date there was a William de Farington, whose arms on a seal are said to be "a chevron between three leopards' heads bearded, langued also," and that a Robert de Farington held a quarter of a fee in Dorsetshire in 1346, in the Hundred of Calvardestre. There is, however, no connection known between this family and Tewkesbury.

10. There are neither painting nor whitewash on the figure now. In 1813 Charles Stothard spent a whole day in clearing away the whitewash before he drew the figure for his great work.[1]

11. The features are defaced, and the fingers, edge of shield, and the sword are damaged. The canopy has been mended in places, and the tracery of the quatrefoils in the centre of the arch is destroyed.

12. Placed in a recess at the east end of the north aisle of the nave. This is not the original position, but it has been removed from elsewhere, as shown by the date of the recess, and the position of the effigy with the shield nearest the wall.

13. Illustrated in Stothard, *Monumental Effigies*, plates 73 and 74; Gough, *Sepulchral Monuments of Great Britain*, vol. ii., plate lxxxvii.; Bigland, *History of Gloucestershire;*

[1] *Trans. B. & G. Arch. Soc.*, vol. xxv., p. 49.

Lyson, *Magna Britannia*, vol. i., page 111; Dingley, *History from Marble*, vol. ii., page cccl.

14. The effigy is well-cared for.

15. The identity of the effigy has not been recognised.

EDWARD, 6TH BARON DESPENSER, A.D. 1375.

1. Military. Knight in armour.

2. Kneeling effigy.

3. Stone.

4. Life-size.

5. The knight wears a mixed suit of chain and plate. A hauberk, pointed in front, reaches to the middle of the thighs, with sleeves which show at the armpits beneath the tight-fitting jupon. This garment is charged in front and behind with the Despencer arms—quarterly; the second and third quarters "fretty over all a bend," the field of the quarters being diapered. On the head is a pointed bascinet, with a camail of chain attached by a lace passing through staples and ending in tassels. The shoulders are further protected by epaulières of three plates, the arms by hinged brassarts and vambraces with small coudes, and the hands by cuffed gauntlets. Hinged cuisses and jambs, with small genouillères, meet pointed solerets with straps for the spurs. Round the hips is a handsome baudric of square medallions, fastened in front by a large one, no weapons being attached. The hands are in the attitude of prayer.

This figure is of unique interest because it shows the front and back view of a knight in armour, and the original colouring and diaper work being still in existence, it gives a good idea of the appearance of military effigies towards the end of the reign of Edward III.

7. The figure is kneeling on a square tasselled cushion, set diagonally.

8. The kneeling figure facing the high altar is placed on the roof of the chantry chapel of the Holy Trinity, under a

small open canopy of late Decorated work in two tiers, diminishing upwards into a point. In the chapel below, on the east wall, above where the altar stood, are the remains of a painted fresco. In the centre is a representation of the Blessed Trinity, with an angel on either side swinging a censer, and behind them are figures of Edward Despenser and his wife, kneeling in adoration. They are in civil dress, with the details shown in colour. Below are traces of Christ crowning the Church, but this is now nearly obliterated.

9. There is no inscription.

Known to be EDWARD, 6TH BARON DESPENCER, died 1375.[1]

10. The figure is placed so high that details of the painting cannot be examined, but they have faded into the appearance of a dull black and red.

11. There are no mutilations visible.

The canopy over the figure was not there in Lyson's time, but was restored in 1827.[2]

12. On the roof of the Trinity Chapel, situated on the south side of the Presbytery.

13. Effigy, described and illustrated by Mr. Albert Hartshorne, *Trans. B. & G. Arch. Soc.*, vol. iv., p. 240, and *Arch. Journal*, vol. xlvii., p. 297, and by Carter, *Ancient Sculpture and Painting*, plate xxii. The fresco figures are illustrated in Lyson, *Coll. of Glo. Antiq.*, plate lxxix., and *Gentleman's Magazine*, November, 1849.

14. The general condition is very good.

15. Edward, 6th Lord de Despencer, succeeded to the lordship of Tewkesbury on the death of his aunt, the widow of Hugh, 5th Lord Despencer, whose monument is described on page 241. He constantly fought in France with the Black Prince, and was one of the set of nobles to be first created Knights of the Garter. He married Elizabeth, daughter of Bartholomew, Lord de Burghersh, who survived him with their third son Thomas. He died at Cardiff Castle in 1375,

[1] Blunt, *History of Tewkesbury Abbey*, p. 70.

[2] Dingley, *History from Marble*, vol. ii. p. 121, Editor's note.

aged about 38, and was buried at Tewkesbury, in the Chapel of the Holy Trinity, which was specially built in the abbey by his widow as a monument to him.[1]

GUY DE BRIEN, LORD WELWYN, A.D. 1390.

1. Military. Knight in armour.
2. Recumbent effigy.
3. Freestone.
4. Life-size, 6 ft. 3 in. in length.
5. The knight wears a mixed suit of chain and plate armour. A hauberk reaches to the middle of the thighs, with long sleeves, and over it is worn a plain jupon with an edging of leaves. In 1813 it was shown charged with the Brien arms, and the field stamped in gesso with a diaper pattern.[2] All traces of these have disappeared except a small portion of the diaper, visible at the back. On the head is a pointed bascinet, with a camail of chain, attached by a lace, passing through small staples. The right arm is quite smooth, but has a cup-shaped coude at the elbow. In Stothard's time the forearm showed longitudinal strips of plate or cuir bouilli, worn over the hauberk. The hand is broken off, but the cuff of the gauntlet remains; the left arm is missing. The legs are cased in chausses of mail, with added defences of longitudinal strips of plate above and below the knees. The small genouillères are strapped under the knee, and the spur straps, decorated with roses, are buckled across the instep with another strap hooked on and passing under the foot. A handsome baudric of square medallions is on the hips and knotted in front, the end hanging straight down to the edge of the hauberk. Both the sword and dagger are broken off, but the cord that held the dagger is still fixed to the baudric. The right arm seems to have been in the act of sheathing the sword. The figure could not have been intended as a portrait, because the knight died at the age of 90, and the effigy shows,

[1] Blunt, *History of Tewkesbury Abbey*, p. 70.
[2] Stothard, *Monumental Effigies*, (Hewitt's edition) p. 133.

conventionally, a middle-aged man with a moustache. The diaper work of the jupon, and the long strips of plate on the legs suggest that the effigy was carved by Flemish workmen, as shown on brasses of the reign of Edward III.

Similar diaper work is shown on the effigy to Edward Lord Despenser, in the same abbey, and as this was erected between 1375 and 1380, it may be surmised the present effigy came from the same school at about the same date, because the Chapel of St. Margaret had been recently completed before the death of Guy de Brien.[1]

6. The head rests on a tilting helm surmounted by a crest—The mutilated head of an animal. Stothard suggests a griffin.

7. The feet rest on a lion lying down and turned away from the figure.

8. The effigy is placed on a high altar tomb beneath a canopy of choice late Decorated work, a copy of the Despenser monument opposite, but less beautiful in detail. It consists of four tiers of tri-cusped arches, each diminishing upwards, till the last terminates in a point. All are decorated with crockets, finials, and high pinnacles of delicate tracery, but the effect is somewhat broken up by three disjointed stalks of finials rising from the upper stages. The arching of the roof is unusual, and consists of a cross vault, formed by the intersection of trefoil-arched, instead of plain-arched, cells. The front of the tomb is divided by clustered pillars into three square panels, foliated and bearing shields.

The arms on the central shield are: "Three piles meeting in base," BRIEN. On the other two: BRIEN impaling "three fusils in fess," MONTACUTE. The sides of the tomb are divided into two narrow, tricusped panels.

9. There is no inscription.

Known to be GUY DE BRIEN, LORD WELWYN, died 1390, aged 90.[2]

[1] Druitt, *Costume on Brasses*, p. 43; Blunt, *History of Tewkesbury Abbey*, p. 69.

[2] Blunt, *History of Tewkesbury Abbey*, p. 69.

10. The mail was represented in gesso, and is a late example of that work. The rings were originally stamped in three sizes, but all traces have disappeared except at the back of the camail (the largest links) and under the right arm, left leg and feet. In Stothard's time the gesso was covered with gilt and silver leaf (one of the chief reasons for using gesso), but that has long since disappeared. Traces of it are to be found on the back of the jupon, under the legs, right arm and camail, and on the hauberk under the left shoulder. Red paint is visible on the tilting helm and the baudric. A beautiful blue colour still remains on the vaulting of the canopy, the intersections being gilded. It is suggested that the blue colour does not represent the sky, as in later canopies, but refers to the blue ribbon of the Order of the Garter.

11. The left arm and the right hand are missing, also the sword and dagger. The lower half of the left foot, and the toes of the right are mutilated, and the baudric is broken in several places. The crest on the tilting helm is very worn. The monument was greatly dilapidated, and was restored in 1828, and has been cleaned since 1890. At the beginning of the seventeenth century the monument and chapel were kept in repair at the expense of E. Alye, Bailiff of Tewkesbury.[1]

Certain pegs on the arms and legs, mentioned in other descriptions, do not now exist.[2]

12. Placed in the centre of the screen dividing the chapel of St. Margaret from the north ambulatory.

13. Tomb illustrated in Gough, *Sepulchral Monuments of Great Britain*, vol. i., plate liii.; Dingley, *History from Marble*, vol. ii., p. cccxlv.; plate by S. Wale, 1745. Effigy engraved in Stothard, *Monumental Effigies*, plates 96 and 97, with vignette of tomb. Described by Mr. Albert Hartshorne in *Bristol and Glo. Arch. Soc.*, vol. iv., p. 238.

14. The interesting details of the armour have been lost

[1] Blunt, *History of Tewkesbury Abbey*, p. 123; Dingley, *History from Marble*, vol. ii., p. cccxlv.

[2] Stothard, *Monumental Effigies* (Hewitt's edition), p. 133; *Arch. Journal*, vol. xlvii. p. 299.

through numerous restorations, but the figure is now well preserved, and the canopy in excellent condition.

15. Guy de Brien was lord of Castle Welwyn in Pembrokeshire, and a connection of the Clares of Tewkesbury. He took part in the French and Irish wars of Edward III., being standard bearer to that monarch, and later was made a Knight of the Garter on its first institution. He held many important posts at Court and in the county, and must have been more than a fighter, as his name appears several times as executor to other barons, and he attended Parliament till within two years of his death. About 1350 he married Elizabeth Montacute, widow of Hugh, 5th Baron Despenser. There was a son, Guy, by this marriage, and there is mention of a William, son of Guy de Brien, who was buried at Seale Church, Kent, but the family became extinct. It is uncertain if Guy de Brien were buried in the tomb he had prepared.[1]

Cadaver, Fifteenth Century.

1. Male. Cadaver.
2. Recumbent.
3. Freestone.
4. Life-size, 5 ft. 8 in. long.
5. The figure lies in the open shroud, tied at the ends, placed on a rush mat with rounded ends. It is represented shrunken, as it would appear a little time after death, with the muscles well marked. The head is shown with the broad tonsure and straight hair; the left arm hangs at the side, and the right rests on the thigh. The body is crawled over by vermin, a mouse gnaws at the bowels, a snail is on the left arm, a lizard crawls up the left leg, and another, with a frog, is in the shroud.
6. The head rests on the knotted end of the shroud.
7. The feet rest on the slab against a similar knotted end.
8. The cadaver rests on an altar tomb in two stages,

[1] Blunt, *History of Tewkesbury Abbey*, p. 69; Stothard, *Monumental Effigies* (Hewitt's edition), p. 133.

under a canopy of the latest style of Gothic architecture, decorated with a profusion of tabernacle work. The canopy consists of a rounded and tri-cusped arch with open quatrefoils, and small shields within the spandrels. Rising from the centre of the tomb is an ogee arch, richly foliated with arches, cusps and quatrefoils, and above the whole are three projecting canopies of beautiful and rich tabernacle work. The piers, which support the canopy on either side, are faced with light buttresses, with octagonal pedestals between them surmounted by niches.

The altar part of the tomb, instead of being solid, is hollow, one side being open and formed into a flat arch with foliated spandrels, and with no second effigy within; the other side has a fine screen of perforated tracery forming three stars.

Between some of the rays are plain squares bearing carvings of the emblems of the Passion—the crown of thorns, three nails, the ladder and scourge, and the bag of money held in a hand.

A cast of the monument is placed in the Crystal Palace, London, and the canopy was copied for the throne in the House of Lords.

9. There is no inscription.

An ECCLESIASTIC.

The architecture of the monument belongs to about the middle of the fifteenth century, but in the opinion of Mr. Albert Hartshorne the cadaver has been brought from elsewhere, and he points out that in other tombs it is always found on the lower stage, and the upper slab reserved for the life-like effigy.[1]

It has often been attributed to Abbot Wakeman, of Tewkesbury, who died 1549, a century after the monument was designed.

10. There are no traces of painting.

11. The right arm is broken from the shoulder to near the wrist, and the hand is gone. The fingers of the left hand

[1] *Trans. B. & G. Arch. Soc.*, vol. xxv., p. 52.

are mutilated, also the vermin. The canopy is in good preservation except some of the small squares in the openwork of the front which are gone.

12. Placed in the north-east corner of the ambulatory, in the eastern side of the entrance to St. Edmund's Chapel.

13. Tomb illustrated in Lyson, *Coll. of Glo. Antiq.*, plate xlv., and *Trans. B. & G. Arch. Soc.*, xxv., page 43.

14. The general condition is good.

JOHN ROBERTS, A.D. 1631.

1. Civilian.
2. Half length of upright effigy.
3. Stone; the canopy of white marble.
4. Life-size.

5. The figure is dressed in a doublet, closely buttoned down the centre, with a short skirt fastened below the waist by five points. The sleeves are tight-fitting, and end in full ruffles. Round the waist is an ornamental belt, hooked in front and buckled on the right side, where a drooping sword-belt is hooked, but only a small portion is visible. Over the shoulders and arms there is a plain cloak, surmounted by a big falling ruff of many folds, tied in front with narrow cord and tassels. The hair is short and curly, and the beard and moustache small. The left hand rests on a skull placed on a book, and the right hand holds a pair of gloves with fringed tops.

8. A mural monument with a shallow recess, in which is placed the effigy, facing outwards. Above is a square canopy, decorated with four cherubs' heads, and supported by two Corinthian pillars, the whole surmounted by an emblazoned shield and wreath, but no crest.

Below the figure is an oblong inscribed tablet within a plain frame. Arms on shield: "Per pale argent and gules, over all a lion rampant sable langued gules," ROBERTS.

9. Inscription beneath the figure (nearly obliterated):—

"Here resteth what was mortal of John Roberts of

Fiddington Gent carefull he was to maintaine Tillage, the maintenance of mankind. He feared God, was faithfull to his Country and Friends, Good to the Poor and Commonwealth, Just to all Men, who left us Jany. 1631 aged 77."

Round the edge of recess: "For Christ is to me both in life and in death, advantage." *Philippians* i. 21.

JOHN ROBERTS, died 1631, aged 77.

10. The doublet and cloak are painted black, the belts and fringed tops of gloves gold, the ruff and ruffles white. The pillars of the canopy and the inscribed tablet are painted black, the cherubs' wings gold and the book red.

11. An angel formerly stood on either side of the shield, but they are destroyed, and the cherubs' heads are gone, the wings alone remaining. The canopy is badly chipped.

12. Placed against the north wall of the north transept.

13. The coat of arms is illustrated and the inscription given in Dingley, *History from Marble*, vol. ii., p. cccxxxviii.

14. It is in fair condition.

15. John Roberts appears to have left three daughters, as shown by coats of arms existing in churches in the neighbourhood. Margaret married James Powell (Deerhurst), died 1656; Mary married John Freeman (Hasfield), died 1658; Alice married Richard Baugh (Twyning), died 1670. He left by will, in 1631, the interest on £20 for ever to buy coal for the poor.[1]

TWYNING CHURCH—Dedicated to St. Mary Magdalen.

SYBIL CLARE, A.D. 1575.

1. Lady and babe.
2. Recumbent effigy.
3. Alabaster; pillars of the canopy black marble.
4. Life-size. Lady, 5 ft. 4 in. long; babe, 3 ft. 9 in. long.
5. The lady wears a plain kirtle, and a full long gown

[1] *Trans. B. & G. Arch. Soc.*, vol. xxviii. p. 404.

thrown open from the waist downwards, and edged with a narrow bordering of fur. The bodice is tight-fitting, open in front, with a small stomacher, and a high upstanding collar at the back. Beneath is a gathered partlet, surmounted by a small one-fold ruff. The tight-fitting sleeves have small epaulets, are cut open on the outside to show the full under-sleeves, and are tied in seven places by knotted laces. At the wrists are small full ruffles, and round the waist is a folded scarf, tied in a knot with short ends; on the right side is a pocket hole. There is an unusual display of embroidery work on the costume; single rows decorate the sleeves, round the armpits, bodice and pocket, whilst double rows border the gown and kirtle. A long chain of narrow links is passed twice round the neck over the partlet, but the pendant, which was probably a small cross, is gone. The hair is worn very curly in front, and confined by a French hood, with a veil falling behind nearly to the shoulders, and a coronal of raised medallions. The left arm encircles the babe, and the right hand holds at the waist the remains of a small book. On the feet are square-toed shoes.

The babe is dressed in swaddling clothes, with broad bands wound round and round, and a close-fitting cap.

6. The head and shoulders rest on a square cushion, tasselled and adorned with scrollwork.

7. The feet are not covered by the gown, and are shown amidst the folds of the garment.

8. A raised tomb, with an effigy beneath a shallow oblong canopy, supported by two small black marble columns with Corinthian capitals. The vaulting is panelled, enclosing alternate squares and circles, and at the back is a brass plate with inscription. Shields were probably fixed on either side, but only the holes remain. The pointed testoon is surmounted by a coat of arms and crest:—

Quarterly and grand quarters. 1st and 4th: "Or three chevrons ermines," CLARE. 2nd and 3rd, Quarterly 1st and 4th: "Sable on a chevron between three escollops argent,

three pellets on a chief of the second, three blackbirds of the first," RYCE. 2nd and 3rd: "Gules two lions passant argent," STRANGE (in error). Should be, "Or two lions passant, guardant in pale, the one in chief gules, the other azure," D'ABITOT.[1]

Crest: On esquire's helmet, and wreath with mantling, a buck's head cabossed proper.

The front of the tomb is divided by three plain columns into two panels with framed tablets, which probably at one time bore shields.

9. Inscription on brass at the back of canopy:—

"Heare lyeth buried the bodyes of Sybill Clare wyffe to Ffrances Clare esquier, and Anne their daughter, which Sybill was only daughter and heire apparante unto Gabriell Blycke esquier and Margaret his wyffe whoe in ye 18 yeare of her age gave her in marriage to the sayed Ffrances, a gentleman bothe worshipfull in parentage and comendable in good qualities betweene whom such was the affection and good lykinge as was seldom seen in their age, for as yf they had not ben prevented by deathe they had continewed a rare example but when they moste rejoyced their matche they weare sonest devided; for the sayed Sybill beinge conceaved wyth child and after a dewe time delivered of a daughter wyth in one forthnight fell sycke and after she had languished certain dayes she willinglye yelded her innocente soule into the handes of God the XIII daye of Februarye in the yeare of our Lord 1575 to the unspeakable losse and sorowe of her deare parentes, ffrendes and of all that knewe her, but most especiallye of her lovinge husband beinge departed ffrom so deare a wyffe well endewed wyth sundrye rare gyftes, both of bodye and minde in whose remembrance as an eternall pledge of good will the sayed Fraunces caused this monument to be

[1] *Trans. B. & G. Arch. Soc.*, vol. xxviii. p. 446.

erected at his proper costes and charges the 12 of Auguste in the yeare of our Lord 1577 to whose soule God graunte a joyfull resurrection. Amen."

Inscription on testoon :—

✠ " Feare not the sentence of deathe remember what thinges have hapned the and what (s)hall after befall unto the it is the judgemente of God to all ffieashe."

SYBIL CLARE died 1575, and infant Anne.

10. The effigy is not painted, but there are traces of gilding and red paint on the coronal. The tinctures on the coat of arms are nearly obliterated.

11. The noses of the lady and babe are defaced, the left hand, the fingers of the right hand, and the book within them are mutilated ; the edge of the bodice and stand-up collar are chipped. The pendant is missing, and a tassel from the cushion. A portion of the dress at the feet is sawn away. The canopy is cracked in places and portions broken off.

12. Placed against the south wall of the chancel, the figure facing the west. The monument formerly stood on the opposite side of the chancel. but was removed at the last restoration in 1868.

13. No illustration is known.

14. The effigy is in very good condition.

15. The record of this lady's life, as far as it is known, is shown in the inscription.

WILLIAM HANCOCK and two Sons, A.D. 1676.

1. Civilians. Father and two sons.

2. Half-length upright effigies.

3. Stone ; pillars and inscribed panels of black marble.

4. Life-size.

5. The central figure represents the father, and he is dressed in a loose coat open in front, with full sleeves and turned-back cuffs. Beneath is a vest closely buttoned down the centre, with tight sleeves ending in very narrow turned-back cuffs, and round the neck is a deep square falling band

decorated with a wide edging of embroidery. He has bushy hair at the sides, covered by a close-fitting coif, and a moustache. The left hand, holding a handkerchief, rests on the breast, and the right is placed on a skull. The figure on the right represents the eldest son, dressed in a similar coat, vest and falling band, but the sleeves of the coat are larger at the wrist, and are turned back to show the undersleeves, which do not end in cuffs. He is clean-shaven, and wears the hair long and flowing to the shoulders. The right hand, holding a handkerchief, rests on the breast, and the left is on a skull. The figure on the left represents the son by the second wife. He is dressed like his brother, except the falling band is replaced by a lace cravat knotted at the throat. In the left hand he holds a scroll. It is probable that all three are portraits.

8. A wide and lofty mural monument adorned with debased ornamentation. The three figures, facing outwards, are placed within a shallow arched recess, decorated with festoons of drapery, and supported by two twisted columns with Corinthian capitals. The pointed testoon with two cornucopæas of grapes is surmounted by an oval shield with coat of arms, and on either side is reclining a nude figure of a boy blowing a trumpet draped, the right hand holding a crown and the feet resting on a skull.

Below the effigies there are three narrow panels, with inscriptions and a narrow straight painting of a seascape, representing four ships or tenders in full sail with a boat under the stern. In the centre is the coat of arms, also painted. Underneath are three oval inscribed panels framed in wreaths of bay leaves, and divided by knotted drapery, and below that again a small panel with two sculptured greyhounds caressing.

Coat of arms at top of canopy:

"Gules a dexter hand couped at the wrist argent on a chief of the second three fighting cocks of the first," HANCOCK.

Arms at foot:

HANCOCK impaling "Argent on a chevron sable three

quatrefoils of the first, in a canton a martlet of the second," ? EYRE.

9. Inscription on narrow panel above the head of central figure :—

" You that now view this Tombe
To death ere long must come
Live so as not to be afraide to dye
Rest once in hopes to live eternally."

Inscription on three narrow panels beneath the figures :—

(1) " I have run the race y was sett before mee."

(2) " I sleepe in peace and rest from my labours."

(3) " There is laid up for me a crown of life."

Inscription on three oval panels :—

(1) " To the memory of William Hancock of this parish Gent. (Eldest sonne of the here mentioned William Hancock Esq: by his wife) who departed ys life the 15th day of December 1674 aged 49 years."

(2) " To the memory of William Hancock senior of Norton in the Parish of Bredon in the county of Worcester Esq: who was borne in this parish & departed this life the sixth day of August 1676 aged 82 years."

(3) " To the memory of Charles Hancock of this Parish Esq: (only son of William Hancock senior Esq: by his last wife) who departed this life ye 29th day of March A D 1717 aged 73."

WILLIAM HANCOCK senior died 1676, aged 82 years.

WILLIAM HANCOCK junior died 1674, aged 49 years.

CHARLES HANCOCK died 1717, aged 73 years.

10. The figures are not painted, but the ornamentations of the canopy, such as the boys' heads, instruments, cornucopæas, etc., are gilded. The seascape is painted in natural colours on the stone.

11. The colours of the seascape and the coats of arms in the centre are becoming obliterated.

12. Placed against the south wall of the belfry tower, now used as a vestry. The monument was formerly affixed to the

north wall of the chancel, and was probably removed when the organ chamber was built before 1880.

12. There is no illustration known.

14. The monument is in good condition.

15. No personal details are known of William Hancock, senior, and his eldest son William.

Charles Hancock lived at Church End, an adjoining hamlet, for many years after his father's death, and in 1715 gave £5 for a sermon to be preached annually on Marriage, on Lady Day (April 6th) ; the congregation to receive £3 10s. for attending to listen to it, the parson £1, and the clerk 5s. the remaining 5s. the bellringers on 5th November. He also gave two silver flagons to the church of Twyning for the use of the communion for ever.[1]

WINCHCOMBE CHURCH—Dedicated to St. Peter.

THOMAS WILLIAMS, Esq., A.D. 1636.

1. Military. Esquire in armour.

2. Kneeling effigy.

3. Stone.

4. Life-size.

5. The figure wears a short buff coat beneath a metal cuirass with tapul. The arms are covered with laminated brassarts, plain coudes and vambraces, beyond which are the sleeves of the buff coat fastened by four buttons. A deep falling band, simply embroidered at the back, is round the neck ; a wide scarf passes over the right shoulder and crosses beneath the left arm, with embroidered and stolelike ends ; and a narrow belt, divided in squares, encircles the waist. Tassets of five plates to the knee are worn over thin loose breeches ; below are buff leather boots with small vandycked tops, and large heart-shaped spur leathers strapped over the instep. The studs of the Almayne rivets are clearly shown on the armour, and the cuirass is engraved in front. The hair

[1] Bigland, *Gloucestershire.*

is worn moderately long, straight on the top with a band of regular curls at the ends, and a carefully-cut beard and pointed moustache. The hands are raised in prayer.

7. The figure kneels on a square cushion, tasselled and fringed, in front of a small pillared desk with an open book on it.

8. A mural monument with a canopy of two shallow arched recesses, supported by two Corinthian pillars on plinths and corbels, bearing a moulded architrave. Above is an escutcheon and crest with a skull and two pyramidal finials. The man kneels in the right recess, and the other is not filled, his widow having married again.

The arms are:

"Argent, a chevron between three cocks gules on a chief sable three spearheads of the first, the points embrued of the second," WILLIAMS.

"Impaling per pale and per chevron argent and sable between three martlets counterchanged 1 and 2," ? RENSHAW or HAWKINS.

Crest: On esquire's helmet with wreath and mantling a cock as in the arms.

These arms do not correspond with those of the Hawkins family, but it may be that Thomas Williams married a second time a Renshaw, because the death of Hester, wife of a Thomas Williams, is recorded in 1674; or the grandson, who died in 1669, may have married a Renshaw, and her coat of arms may be impaled here in error on the repainting of the monument at a later date than its erection, when the description of Sir David Williams as a Baronet (an honour which belonged to his grandson) may have also crept in.[1]

9. Inscription on a shield beneath the monument:—

"This is the Effigies of Thomas Williams Esq: of Cornden, the second son of Sr David Williams, Baronet of Gwernewett in Brecknockshire, on(e) of his Majesties Judges in Westminster, who was buried here the 28th day of May in the year 1636."

[1] *Trans. B. & G. Arch. Soc.*, vol. xxviii. p. 400.

THOMAS WILLIAMS died 1636, aged 54.

10. The details of the armour, scarf and cushion are gilded, as well as those of the architrave; the canopy was painted black, but is now nearly free except the columns.

11. Some of the moulding of the monument is broken away.

12. Placed against the north wall of the chancel.

13. No illustration is known.

14. The general condition is good.

15. Thomas Williams was the second son of Sir David Williams of Gwernewett, Breconshire. The latter was a Judge of the King's Bench from 1604 to his death in January, 1613, and was a knight, and not a baronet, as stated in the inscription above.

Nothing is known of the occupation of Thomas Williams, but he is described as being of Cockthrop, Oxfordshire, and appears to have bought Cornden, by Winchcombe, which manor passed to his son and grandson, and thence to the elder branch of the family. Descendants of the family still live at Gwernewett in Breconshire. He married Hester, daughter of James Hawkins, Esq., of Washbourne, co. Worcester, and had several children. He may have married a second time.[1]

WOOLSTONE CHURCH.—Dedicated to St. Martin.

A Priest, about A.D. 1425.

1. Ecclesiastical. Priest in Eucharistic vestments.

2. Recumbent effigy.

3. Freestone.

4. Life-size, 6 ft. 6 ins. long.

5. The figure is attired in the vestments for the celebration of the Mass. He wears a full alb to the feet, with long, tight sleeves, and over it a long rounded chasuble. The ends of the plain stole are visible, but he does not appear to bear the maniple on the left arm. Round the neck is a plain

[1] Burke, *Extinct Baronetage*, p. 568.

amice. The head is tonsured, with bushy hair at the sides, and he is represented with big features and of strong build. On the feet are square-toed shoes, and the hands, uncovered, are raised in prayer.

6. The head rests on two pillows, the lower one oblong, the upper square and set diagonally.

7. The feet come out of the folds of the alb.

8. There is no tomb. The slab with effigy rests on the floor.

9. There is no inscription.

A PRIEST, about 1425.

He probably lived in the first half of the fifteenth century, to judge by the arrangement of the hair, the stiff folds of the chasuble, and the absence of any decoration on the vestments. The church of Woolstone was attached to Deerhurst Priory as early as 1271, and this may represent an important priest who held the advowson. As the church was rebuilt in 1499, the effigy was probably removed from the old building.[1]

10. The figure is covered with whitewash.

11. The features are very worn, and the right foot is broken off.

12. Placed on the floor within the chancel rails on the north side, facing the east.

13. There is no illustration known.

14. The figure is clean and well taken care of.

15. The priest is not identified.

[1] Atkyns, *Gloucestershire*, p. 445.

BRISTOL ARCHÆOLOGICAL NOTES FOR 1905.[1]

VI.

By JOHN E. PRITCHARD, F.S.A.
Honorary Secretary for Bristol.

"What is local is often national."

"A closer study of the antiquities of domestic life will not lessen, but rather heighten our interest in the grander and more imposing episodes of our national history."

I WISH in these notes to again specially refer to the fact of the rapidly diminishing relics of our ancient

DOMESTIC ARCHITECTURE.

And though most of us at some time or another have doubtless asked the question, "What will happen next?" whilst knowing that the subject of the Dutch House might come up at any time for discussion in our Council Chamber, none of us, I imagine, were prepared for the rumour, which was current at the beginning of the year, that the exquisite chimney-piece at "Langton's House," on the Welsh Back, had been sold and would be leaving Bristol!

And if this statement was not absolutely correct, I found upon inquiry that the owner had resolved to remove not only that example of almost priceless carving, but the whole of the architectural details still existing in the old house to a new place[2] in Hampshire, now being erected to receive

[1] Read at the Bristol evening meeting, February 21st, 1906.

[2] Designed by Mr. Edwin L. Lutyens.

these Jacobian remains, which I may remind you are representative of early seventeenth-century interior work of which there is no equal in the city.[1]

This great loss to historic Bristol, which will be an accomplished fact during 1906, emphasises our inability as a city to accept and erect specimens of this character; and just as it is true in the commercial sense that we cannot expect shipping unless we possess adequate dock accommodation, so until we provide an

ARCHITECTURAL COURT

for the display of such examples as these, we shall assuredly lose one by one the very few vestiges of ancient buildings now left to us in the old city.

I know I am correct in saying that fully twenty most interesting stone and wood chimney-pieces, as well as much carved woodwork, removed from old residences in our midst during the past few years, have been sold to London architects and antique dealers, who have been only too glad to procure our specimens.

Quite recently, be it remembered, the interior work of the "Elton Mansion" was taken down; in which case the two chimney-pieces were carefully preserved and re-erected by the Bristol Water Works Company at their new offices,[2] though unfortunately the wood panelling and the fine plaster ceiling and frieze of the principal room were allowed to go out of the city.[3] I cannot help feeling that had we possessed such facilities as I have indicated, the wealthy company—in which we are individually much interested—would have gladly presented the whole of these specimens to the city.

People ask, What about the Art Gallery? Well, much boast is made of this building as if it could swallow all that comes along! And it certainly takes in a very great deal, though

[1] An illustrated descriptive account will be given in a later volume.

[2] See *Trans.* xxvii., p. 339.

[3] These were acquired by Sir E. H. Elton, Bart., of Clevedon Court.

it does not gauge its appetite according to any specific menu.

We, of course, must admit its great value to the city, and its wonderful proportions, its massive appearance and its solidity of build ; but it is a fact that most of us are greatly disappointed at the totally inadequate space assigned to *local* antiquities.

We have been told in one of the recently issued catalogues[1] of this institution that "Room No. IV. supplies what was for a long period a pressing want, namely a *place* of *deposit* for all that can appropriately be placed in a 'Bristol Room.' In carrying out this object, the room becomes an epitome of the *history*, past manufactures and social life of the city."

I venture to think that the *history* of Bristol will be most incomplete without the "story of our buildings," and I am sure members will agree with me that such a court as suggested ought to be provided as early as possible, similar to those to be found at South Kensington and elsewhere. Then should we be ready to receive and adequately exhibit gifts of architectural specimens, and doubtless should become more zealous to retain, acquiring by purchase if necessary, what other Museums and private collectors at a distance would be only too glad to buy from us.

For nearly thirteen years the beautiful fourteenth-century DOORWAY[2] with its carved panelled spandrels and side posts, which had formed the entrance to SPICER'S HALL on the Welsh Back (only a few yards off Langton's House), secured for the city in 1893, has been lying in the Guildhall Yard, where I inspected it a few days ago.

[1] See Catalogue of Permanent Collection ; the italics are the writer's.

[2] It was demolished in 1885, when the frontage was rebuilt, and remained in the possession of the Jefferies family until 1893, when that estate was realised by auction. It was then that the Museum Committee purchased it by request.

Many inquiries as to this doorway have been made by architectural visitors to the city during recent years.

This typical specimen of early domestic woodwork would form a most suitable entrance to an architectural court, but rather than retain it longer under present conditions it would be far better to present it to our national collection, where it would be readily welcomed and properly exhibited.

Doomed to destruction was the ancient hostelry known as the

LAMB INN,

West Street, when the Corporation sold the site in April last, under the powers of streets improvements.

This building was a typical inn of the seventeenth century; it carried three gables over a frontage of 45 feet, and had an "old world" entrance enclosed by unusually interesting wood gates, with shell-pattern carving in the upper panels.

The principal interior feature was its massive STAIRCASE erected in the Commonwealth period, the "Newel" still retaining the original date of erection in 1651, and this massive post well supported the approach to the numerous rooms on the floors above, until the day the "wreckers" had their way.

Though the first floor windows were modern insertions, the upper ones in the overhanging frontage possessed the original wood mullions, the middle window containing a circular head with a keystone bearing an ornamental shield. The latter window was not dissimilar to those in the old "Dutch House" and the recently destroyed house in Mary-le-port Street, though those examples were evidently later in date than the one here.

Unfortunately the Museum authorities failed to look after the relics in this case, which were evidently claimed by the purchaser of the site, for they were sold as soon as the place was demolished. The doors left Bristol, and the staircase passed into private hands locally; the "sign" of the inn—a lamb lying down—though not the original one, has, I understand, also gone from the city, and so, too, has an excellent chimney-piece.

HORTON, Photo.

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LAMB INN, BRISTOL.

Demolished 1905.

HORTON, Photo.

STAIRCASE. LAMB INN, BRISTOL.

Demolished 1903.

Surely the Museum Committee ought to be in a position to ascertain from the Estate Department particulars of what ancient properties are to be dealt with year by year, so that arrangements could be made to secure any relics attached thereto, which are considered sufficiently interesting for exhibition purposes, before the properties pass into other hands. It is so essential for a city to protect its history.

Of the old inns still remaining, there are now only a few of any importance left, and it is to be hoped they will be zealously guarded as far as practicable from wanton injury or destruction. The principal ones are :—

The Hatchet Inn, Frogmore Street, possessing an interesting exterior.

The Landoger, King Street, a corner tenement of a block of seventeenth-century houses—already doomed.[1]

The Shakespeare, Temple Street, an old house much renovated.

The Stag and Hounds, Old Market Street, the site of the ancient Pie Poudre Court.[2]

The Rising Sun, at the corner of Ellbroad Street, containing quaint interior work.

Beyond the city boundary, on the north side of the River Froom, a row of gabled timber and plaster houses was built at the close of the seventeenth century in the thoroughfare now known as Old King Street.

Millerd clearly shows this block in his large plan, published in 1673, and those small but quaint dwellings have stood ever since, until recently, when an extension of business necessitated the site occupied by two of them, Nos. 3 and 5. These houses, with low shops underneath, were pulled down in August, and a modern brick building now exists to tell the tale. The overhanging frontages, with the original oak windows on the upper

[1] The Corporation has been advertising the site since 1899, upon lease for "building purposes."

[2] See *Trans.* xxviii., p. 111, and illustration.

floors, gave a picturesque appearance, but the rooms were very small and low, and there were no internal features of interest.

As an instance of the rapidity of demolition, I may mention that when making a perambulation of some of the old streets for the purpose of noticing certain details upon the houses, only in May last, this row appeared quite safe, yet by the end of August the two houses already referred to were gone!

Amidst so many cases of destruction it is a pleasure to note a most interesting one of

RENOVATION.

I refer, of course, to the picturesque houses built against the north side of St. Mary-le-port Church, which during the summer and autumn have been carefully repaired by the feoffees of the church lands.

And not only so, but the two entablatures upon the fronts of the houses numbered 38 and 40, bearing arms of the Brewers' Guild—the last remaining in the city—have been heraldically coloured, making a very picturesque effect.

And it may be worth mentioning—for it is not generally known—that at the backs of the rooms in Nos. 38, 39 and 40, portions of the north windows of the church may still be seen; and in Nos. 38 and 40 are some remains of carved and moulded stone fireplaces, evidence of former greatness, for were not these houses inhabited by wealthy merchants probably less than a century since!

Owing to the erection of the new Central Library out of the "Stuckey-Lean bequest," the CARVED WOOD CHIMNEY-PIECE, attributed to Grinling Gibbons, which was presented to the city in 1739,[1] was removed from the old Reference Library in King Street, and re-erected in Deanery Road in December.

My last reference to domestic architecture is to the

DUTCH HOUSE,

and with regard to this subject there is little to add to what

[1] See Tovey's *Bristol City Library*, 1853, p. 18. This carving has been considered to be the work of Thomas Patey.

was said at our open meeting at the Museum Theatre on the 7th of December last;[1] but it will be interesting to place on record the resolution which was passed at that meeting, of which a copy, accompanied by a letter, was forwarded to every member of the City Council, as follows :—

BRISTOL, *9th December*, 1905.

DEAR SIR,

OLD DUTCH HOUSE.

We have pleasure in sending you annexed a copy of a resolution passed unanimously at a Meeting of this Society on Thursday last, under the Presidency of the Rt. Hon. LEWIS FRY, which no doubt you have already seen reported in the Bristol papers of the 8th instant.

We are sure you will permit us to say that the universal opinion of the members is strongly in favour of preserving *the entire house* in situ.

It is believed—and fully confirmed by several of our most able professional members—that by cutting away the modern shop the necessary increase of pavement for foot traffic can be secured, whilst the upper portion of this quaint house, with its overhanging frontage, can be safely retained by following the method recently adopted by the London County Council in the case of the Seventeenth Century house in Fleet Street.

The members of this Society feel that this old house is such a valuable asset to the City, from an historical as well as an antiquarian point of view, that unless its removal is absolutely essential for the convenience of the citizens, they strongly urge that it should be retained.

We are,
Yours faithfully,
FRANCIS F. FOX,
President of the Council.
JOHN E. PRITCHARD,
Hon. Sec. for Bristol.

COPY OF RESOLUTION.

"The Bristol members of the Bristol and Gloucestershire Archæological Society understand that the Council will be asked to decide the fate of the Old Dutch House on Tuesday next. As this is believed to be the only example in England of a dwelling brought over from Holland in parts and erected here, they strongly urge the Council to retain, if possible, in its present position, this unique specimen of seventeenth-century domestic architecture, so interesting to its citizens and so attractive to visitors."

[1] See Bristol newspapers of December 8th, 1905.

At the Council Meeting[1] on December 12th the question of the retention of the old house was happily referred back to the New Streets and Estates and General Purposes Committees, and is now *sub judice*. The dual sub-committee comprises gentlemen who are able to grapple with this delicate question from all points; and with the knowledge that other great cities are straining every nerve to retain what is of historic value, will doubtless protect the character of Bristol in this respect.

As some members of our Society have more than once shown anxiety as to the origin of the name of the Dutch House, let me again say, that though there is no definite information upon this subject, no one has been able to disprove the statement mentioned in Evans's *Chronological History of Bristol* under the date 1733 (p. 262).

But what 's in a name? Surely all great advertisers state boldly that everything is in a name. If then the house really is not of Dutch origin it must be English, and therefore Bristol. Shall it not then be saved?

During the month of March the Bristol Water Company carried fresh pipes across the OBSERVATORY CAMP, cutting through the ramparts and ditch on the east side; but beyond traces of animal bones and charcoal, no antiquities were found.

ECCLESIASTICAL ARCHITECTURE

claims several matters of considerable interest.

On March 11th, in excavating for a burial on the south side of the CATHEDRAL, a short fragment of a quatrefoil Norman column and its base were cut into. Fortunately, Mr. Hayward, the sub-sacrist, was present at the digging, and made the rescue, and this relic, which is considered to be of the same date as the chapter room, is now preserved in the cloister.

With regard to the work in progress in the south aisle of

[1] See Bristol newspapers, December 13th, 1905, for report of Bristol Council Meeting.

GUY CHILTON, Photo.

EAST SIDE OF PRIESTS' HOUSE.
ALL SAINTS, BRISTOL.
August, 1905.

GUY CHILTON, Photo.

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ROOF. EAST END OF SOUTH AISLE.
ALL SAINTS, BRISTOL.

August 1905

ALL SAINTS' CHURCH (City), there is really little to add to what was said by our member, Mr. Oatley, the architect to the vestry, on the occasion of our visit on Saturday, the 4th of November.[1]

But I may point out that this edifice is unique, as it actually possesses two houses within its walls. Both are at the west end—that of the Kalendars on the north, and on the south the Manse, which was built in the early part of the fifteenth century by its vicar, Sir Thomas Marshall.

As I hope Mr. Oatley will give a detailed paper in our *Transactions* in due time, I will simply state that the views now given are from photographs kindly taken by Mr. Guy Chilton immediately after these interesting features had been opened up, with the sanction of the Wardens[2]:

A view of the fifteenth-century roof, showing one of the corbels representing an angel's head (see illustration).

The small interior east window of the vicar's house, and the foliated opening below that window, from which the altar was visible—both discovered during the work (see illustration).

Below this opening again are to be seen some portions of inscriptions, which unfortunately were too much mutilated in past times to allow of their now being deciphered.

Mr. Oatley is still carrying on the work of reparation, the existing Norman columns and their foundations being under careful examination.

COTHAM.

THE GALLOWS AND BEWELL'S CROSS.

During the early spring the work of demolishing the red brick house at the corner of Cotham New Road and Hampton Road, where Mr. Exley conducted a boys' school for many years, was duly accomplished; and this was followed by excavations upon that site, and upon the garden ground

[1] See Bristol newspapers, November 6th, 1905.

[2] Mr. John Curtis and Mr. R. H. Carpenter.

adjoining, for the erection of the important new buildings, now nearly completed, to be known as the Western College.

In the middle of April, in digging for the foundations, the workmen came upon some OLD WALLS, to the west of the residence referred to, and from six to eight feet deep, which by the courtesy of Professor Chapman and our member, Mr. Dare Bryan, the architect, I was permitted to examine.

The traces of this early walling were but fragmentary, and varied in thickness, and owing to the rapid progress necessary with the new buildings, no extended excavations were possible.

The remains comprised part of a stone enclosure or kind of cellar, with indications of a stone roof, besides massive masonry running in several directions.

It was, of course, unfortunate that there could be no special digging, as the discovery of a number of fragments of late seventeenth and early eighteenth century pottery made the question as to the utility of these walls bristle with interest; but it leaves yet another problem for Bristol members to solve, for the gallows once stood close by.

It may not be uninteresting to go back to the earliest plan of Bristol that takes in the outskirts of the city, which is the large one by John Rocque, published in 1742.

This gives a most interesting picture of

COTHAM[1]

at that time, which was all open pasture, for there is no building marked upon the plan between this corner and old Cotham Lodge—except the Snuff Mill midway in the track, now known to us as Fry's Tower—but the

GALLOWS

is most clearly indicated (see section of 1742 plan illustrated).

[1] The late Francis Fry says that in an old deed the district was formerly styled "Codde Downes." In later documents it was changed to Codd or Cod Down, Coat Down, Coat Ham, and Cod Ham. Finally it became Cotham, as we know it.

From Rocque's Plan of Bristol, 1742.

It is quite evident from Rocque's plan that this instrument of execution stood on what may be correctly described as the waste ground or common land at the side of the road, and this was doubtless eventually taken in with the adjoining field and fenced round—thereafter called the "gallows field."

The four smaller plans of Rocque, issued between 1750 and 1759, both show this erection, and you will also find it marked in Benning's plan, dated 1780, but not after that, as no other large plans of importance were issued until Benjamin Donne's came forth in 1826, by which time public hanging was dispensed with.

The date of erection is uncertain, and so also is the date of its removal, though we know it was used for an execution in 1805; but most probably this was the last occasion.

And with regard to the road at this spot (now known as Cotham New Road), it is fortunate that we have chronicled in the *Bristol Mirror* an account of the transformation of the neighbourhood, in the year 1829, from the pen of Mr. William Tyson, F.S.A.,[2] a well-known Bristol antiquary, whose letter to the newspaper of that day referred to the "laying out of the new road, now forming from the top of St. Michael's Hill, *through the gallows field to Cotham.*"

In that same account we find it noted that the remains of

BEWELL'S CROSS

were cut into, Mr. Tyson recording the fact that "it stood *in the field appropriated to the execution of criminals*"; and in his *Annals* Mr. Latimer tells us that the stone was imbedded in the south wall of the road now enclosing Highbury Chapel.[3]

What this cross was we know not. The first mention of it was in the charter of Edward III. in 1373, which defined the boundaries of the city,[4] but it was undoubtedly destroyed at

[1] October 3rd, 1829.

[2] Author of the *Bristol Memorialist*, Bristol, 1823.

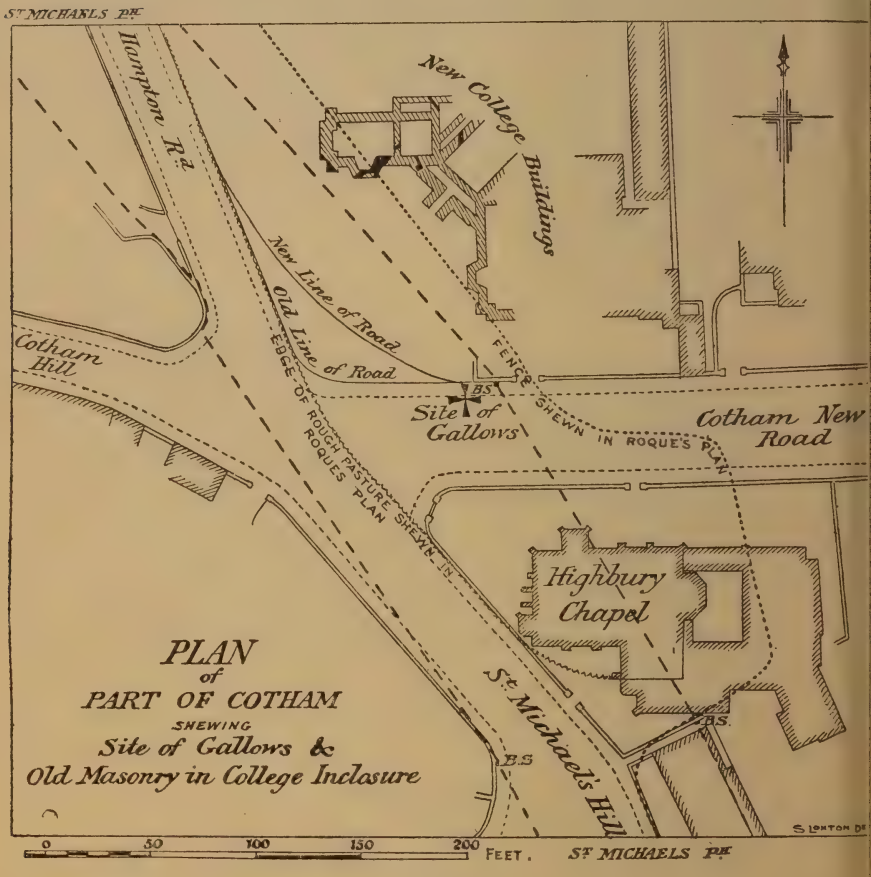
[3] Latimer's *Annals in the Nineteenth Century*, p. 134. It may be well to add that the MS. therein named by him was copied from Tyson's letter above referred to.

[4] Seyer's *Charters of Bristol*, published in 1812, p. 76.

the time when all others were demolished by order of the Commons, in 1643. It appears that pedestals and steps were often allowed to remain, and it was the base which was left in this instance, that the workmen came across in making Cotham New Road.

The line of the civic boundary came up from Jacob's Wells through what is now known as Tyndall's Park, to the most northerly point at Bewell's Cross, near the site of the gallows.

This position is confirmed by a reference in Ricart's *Kalen-*



1905.

dar, under date 1525,[1] where it is said "The Maister Maire . . . . . commaunded that the heddes of the crosses at the galowes and markett place shuld be made of the newe"; and Evans, in his *Chronological History*, published in 1824, referred to it as the "stone in the late gallows field."

Mr. Latimer, however, in his *Annals* says: "Rocque's large map of the city, dated 1742, shows the cross to have stood nearly one hundred yards farther to the north-west."[2]

This is a curious slip for our great annalist to have made, for what Mr. Latimer evidently referred to was Bewell's *Croft*,[3] which, of course, meant "Bewell's field."

After a most careful examination of all existing plans, and taking into consideration the descriptions and measurements left to us, I think it is safe to assume that the exact site of the gallows was just outside the present doorway of the old house of Mr. Exley (see plan), and that Bewell's Cross stood close by, though it is impossible to mark the definite spot, for there are unfortunately no precise records, neither is there any marked working plan used at the time of making the road, in 1829, preserved in the office of the City Engineer.

The question that I now wish to put is this: Have the remains of the old walls, which I have tried to describe, any connection with either the gallows or the cross? and, if not, of what other building? The presence of the very interesting fragments of pottery would seem to indicate the earlier existence of a dwelling, though the plan of the walls contradicts that theory.

It will be seen from the plan that the greater part of the old walling was discovered almost on the line of the elevation of the "common room" of the new college.

There have been fewer small finds of the

MEDIÆVAL AND LATER PERIODS

from excavations in Bristol during 1905 than in previous years.

[1] Ricart's *Kalendar* (Camden Edition, 1872), p. 51.
[2] Latimer's *Annals in the Nineteenth Century*, p. 134.
[3] Rocque does not mark the cross.

In the process of drainage work, however, in one of the main streets of the city in July, two PEWTER SPOONS, the bowl of a third, and a small PATEN were discovered.[1]

By far the most interesting object is the small

PEWTER PATEN,

which is in excellent preservation (see illustration). This vessel is almost flat, quite plain, and measures a fraction over $3\frac{3}{4}$ inches in diameter; but it does not bear any maker's mark. The rim is $\frac{3}{8}$ of an inch in width, having a definite square edge slightly thicker than the thickness of the metal. The sunken

part is three inches across, and though only $\frac{3}{8}$ of an inch deep, it is slightly raised in the centre on the reverse side, where the four final turns of the lathe can be seen.

It was customary in early mediæval times to place a chalice and paten with the body of a priest for burial, and these sepultural vessels, which were of base metal and unconsecrated, have been found at various places in this country and on the Continent. The Rev. J. T. Evans, who is just editing the *Church Plate of Gloucestershire* for the Society, says: "The custom of burying a chalice and paten with a priest or bishop

[1] My thanks are due to Mr. Drane, of Cardiff, for kindly expressing his opinion on these specimens.

began about the twelfth century, and the constitutions of William de Blois, Bishop of Worcester, expressly direct that amongst the ornamenta of churches there must be two chalices —one of silver, for use at mass ; the other of pewter, not consecrated, to be buried with the priest. The earliest is of pewter, and was found with its paten at Chichester ; these were probably the private vessels of Bishop Godefridus, who died in 1088."

The specimen now described was found in Corn Street, almost opposite the Commercial Rooms, at a depth of nearly twelve feet, and it is possible that it came from an early burial of probably thirteenth or fourteenth century, in connection with old St. Werburgh's Church, which was taken down and removed in 1878.[1]

In the same trench was also found a portion of a lady's HEAD-DRESS COMB, of wood and of openwork design, probably of twelfth to fourteenth century period.

The BASE METAL SPOONS referred to were discovered in drainage excavations in Corn Street, about ten feet below the level of the roadway, and are as follows :—

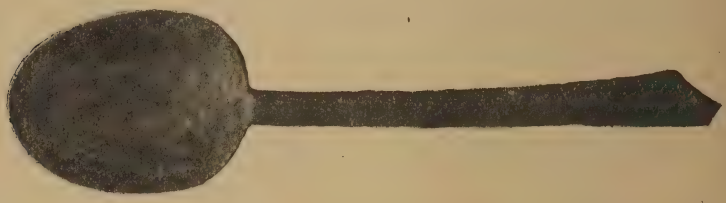
Spoon No. 2 has a somewhat gibbous bowl, with a flat hexagonal stem with slip end, and measures 6¼ inches long ; it may be assigned to about 1650 (see illustration).

The perfect pear-shaped bowl, No. 4, came from the same trench. It is much more shapely, and has traces of a triangular stem, indications of late sixteenth-century date.

Spoon No. 3 may be considered of late Cromwellian type.

[1] See Latimer's *Annals of the Nineteenth Century*, p. 461.

It has an egg-shaped bowl with a flat stem, is slightly broken at the top, and is 7¼ inches long; probably about 1700 (see illustration).



There were found during the same work, at a lesser depth:

Several fragments of delft pottery,
A small glass phial,
A bone spoon,
A silver tea-spoon,

all of apparently eighteenth-century period.

At the Welsh Back, where excavations were also being carried on during the year, a small and almost unique

PEWTER MEDAL,

which was struck to commemorate the

Imprisonment of the Seven Bishops in 1688,

was found. It has on one side a view of a Jesuit and Monk endeavouring to undermine a church, and around: "*The Gates of Hell shall not prevaile against it.*" On the other side are the busts of the seven bishops, with *Sancroft* in the middle, and around the edge is inscribed: "*Upon this rock have I built my church.*"

A somewhat similar silver medal, though slightly larger, was issued in Holland about that date, but this type in pewter—measuring about 1½ inches in diameter—though formerly thought to be Dutch, is now considered to have been struck in England, and Mr. H. A. Grueber, F.S.A., writing from the British Museum, says it is very rare.

It is a most interesting coincidence that this medal should have been found here, as two of the seven bishops committed to the tower were connected with the city: Sir Jonathan Trelawney was Bishop at the time, and John Lake (of Chichester) had held the See in 1684.

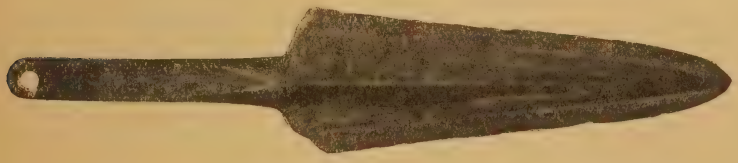
PRE-HISTORIC.

Now I must go back to pre-historic times, of which little is to be recorded from our district during the year.

The finding of some EARLY BURIALS in the course of widening Church Road, at Winterbourne, near Bristol, in the month of March, was particularly interesting. One cist—formed of rough stone slabs, and measuring about seven feet long by two feet wide at the head, and four feet deep—had a heavy slab for its covering, but it contained no remains. There were other burials near, which seemed to indicate that the site was that of a cemetery, though there was, unfortunately, no pottery found or anything else to assist in forming an opinion as to what period the burials could be assigned, but they lay from north to south.

The rector, the Rev. G. T. S. Goodrich, did all he could concerning the find at the time, but the graves had to be closed up very quickly; further excavations, however, would doubtless reveal some interesting features.

The other discovery was that of a TANGED DAGGER of the BRONZE AGE. Though the find occurred about two years ago, it was not heard of until quite recently.[1]



[1] It appears that Mr. B. A. Baker, of Bristol, was visiting a friend on the Cotswolds, and was shown this weapon, which he secured, and it is by his kind permission now illustrated.

It is a very fine specimen of the bronze period, and measures about 8½ inches in length, of which the blade is over 5 inches. A prominent midrib runs down on both sides, the outer sides of which are ornamented with four fine parallel lines, all joining at the point. The strong tang measures over 3 inches, and the weapon was cast in one piece. The handle was unfortunately gone, and only one rivet was attached when this formidable weapon was discovered on BLACKENBURY CAMP, between Nibley and Wotton, by a keeper when stopping rabbit holes.

A fragment of a bronze saw was also picked up at the same time, but was not thought worth keeping.

In the last guide to the Bronze Age, published by the British Museum, Mr. Charles H. Read, F.S.A., illustrates a similar dagger of the same dimensions, which was found in Suffolk; and he also says that "several examples have been discovered, chiefly in the south of England, and one is said to have come from Italy." The same type has also been found in Ireland.

From Sea Mills a few relics of the ROMANO-BRITISH period have to be recorded, including several interesting bronze fibulæ and tweezers, more fragments of pottery, and various coins. Of the latter, the most important specimen was one examined by Mr. Grueber, which he describes as an imitation (probably British) of a dupondius of Claudius I., considered a contemporary fabrication, or nearly so. The legend is illegible,

but the reverse type only occurs on coins of that Emperor, and of the size as the one found.

Many things found at this Roman Station have gone from our midst, and it is a singular coincidence that the last antiquarian report presented to the Cambridge Senate[1] contains amongst its recent gifts: A large carved bronze needle, with flattened pointed head and oblong eye (length 5.1 inches across arc) from the Roman camp at Sea Mills in 1864. Found by the donor, F. T. Mullett.

[1] Dated May, 1905.

GILBERT DE LACI (? 1108–1163) AND PAIN FITZJOHN (–1137).

THE DE LACI PEDIGREE.

(GLOUCESTERSHIRE AND HEREFORDSHIRE BRANCH.)

Walter de Laci (1) Lord of Ewyas Ludlow, 1st Baron, friend of William I.; d. 1085, 27 March, Hereford. = 1. Emma (Vol. i., *H. & G.*, "St. Petri, Glouc.," p. 15) "Matre sua Emma" of Walter de Laci, Abbot of Gloucester.
2. Ermelina Owning Duntisbourne 1086. Vol. i., p. 351.

(1) Roger, 1086, 2nd Baron Banished 1088; living 1108.

(2) Hugh, 3rd Baron = Adeliza (?) Founder of Llantony prima; d. 1121 (?); buried at Ewyas, co. Hereford.

(3) Walter, Abbot of Gloucester, 1130—1139 (d.)

(4) Adelina (?) Eloise = William D'Evreux. (Living between 1113—1129; had lands at Brookthorpe.

A sister, Emma (de Laci) = . . . (?)

Sybil = Pain FitzJohn. Lady of Painswick.

(1) Cecilia = Roger FitzMilo, Earl of Hereford.

(2) Agnes = William de Monchensi.

William, John, Hubert.

Gilbert, 4th Baron = (?) Agnes. d. 1163.

Hugh, 5th Baron Killed 1186; buried at Durrow, but removed to Cistercian Abbey of Bective. Head to St. Thomas, Dublin, 1195. = 1. Roesia de Monmouth.
(1) Walter (d. 1241), 6th Baron.
(2) Hugh, Earl of Ulster (b. 29 May, 1205; d. 1242.) = Emmelina, d. of Walter de Revelsford.
(3) Elayne = Ric. de Beaufoi.
(4) Gilbert.
(5) . . . . = Geof. de Marisco.
(6) . . . . = Will. FitzAlan.
= 2. Rose O'Connor.
(1) William = d. of Llewelyn, Prince of N. Wales.
(2) Thomas.
(3) Henry.

(1) Walter.
(2) Roger.
(3) Roesia.

Walter, 6th Baron (1241) benefactor of the two Llantony's; founder of Cresswell Priory, co. Hereford; founder of Beaubec Abbey, co. Meath. = Margaret de Braose (before 1200).
(1) Gilbert = Isabel, d. of Ralph Bigod. d. 1234.
(2) Egidia.
(3) Katharine.
(1) Walter = —, d. of Theob. de Boteler.
(2) Matilda = 1. Peter of Geneva. 2. Geoff. de Joinville.
(3) Margaret = John de Verdon.

CHARTER No. 20 of the Duchy of Lancaster consists of a confirmation by King Stephen to Roger, son of Milo, Earl of Hereford, and to Cecilia, his wife, of all the land which the latter's father, Pain FitzJohn, had inherited, or acquired, together with her own marriage-portion.

"Et omne maritagium quod predictum Paganus dedit filiæ suæ de Honore Hugonis de Laceio in terris et militibus. Et omne illud juris quod ipse Paganus habebat in toto Honore Hugonis de Laceio, sicut ipse Paganus dedit et concessit illum ipsi Rogerio cum filia sua de acatis suis hac subscripta maneria."

From this it appears (1) that Pain FitzJohn, at the time of his death (July 10th, 1137) and for some undetermined time prior to that event, possessed certain rights over the Honour of the late Hugh de Laci, who has been proved to have been his wife's maternal uncle; and that (2) he had given to his daughter Cecilia, Countess of Hereford, on her marriage with Roger (FitzMilo), certain lands in her dower from her great-uncle's Honour, including the Manor of Wyke (Painswick), Edgworth and Alwynton; finally (3) that King Stephen confirmed all these rights to Cecilia upon her father's decease. The date of the Charter is judged by Mr. J. H. Round to lie between December, 1137, and May, 1138.

At that date Hugh de Laci had been dead several years (? 1121), and having left no son to succeed him, King Henry, after that event, had conferred upon Pain FitzJohn, who had married Hugh's niece, Sybil, the whole of the family Honour, some 115 manors, of which twenty-seven were situated in Gloucestershire. This Pain had enjoyed, in addition to his own acquired wealth of lands, for some years, until the arrow of a Welsh rebel put an end to him, and the monks of Gloucester received his body into their chapter house.

But it must not be forgotten that when Hugh de Laci's brother, Roger, had been banished and deprived, he had been permitted to retain one manor, namely Halhagun cum Bradwasse, in Worcestershire. The family fief in France, at Lasci,

in the Diocese of Bayeux, had been granted to the king's natural son, Robert, Duke of Gloucester. The former (Worcestershire) manor was still his in 1108, and at no time does it appear to have passed to Hugh de Laci, his brother, or to Pain Fitz-John. We do not know the date of Roger's decease.

The fief at Lasci is mentioned in the list of knights holding fiefs of the Bishop of Bayeux in 1133 (Cf. *Lib. Rubeus*, p. 646, Rolls Series). "Feodum De Lasci il milites." That is to say, each of the two branches possessed a fee there, one of which was at Lasci, whence their name; the other at Campeaux, and both these had been forfeited and both bestowed upon Robert, Duke of Gloucester. For the representatives of both branches, Roger de Laci and Robert de Laci, Lord of Pontefract, had been concerned in Robert, Duke of Normandy's rebellion. The claims to these, their respective possessions in the Diocese of Bayeux, were retained by the Duke of Gloucester until 1146, when by reference to the *Calendar of Documents of France* (Ed. J. H. Round) it is seen that he surrendered "tota feoda Ilberti[1] et Gilberti de Laceio quæ tenebant apud Laceium et Campels [*sic*]." That is to say, King Stephen restored to the two representatives of Roger and Robert de Laci, Ilbert and Gilbert, their family lands above-mentioned, and the Duke of Gloucester acknowledged the Bishop of Bayeux to be once more their over-lord.

As Ilbert de Laci (of the Yorkshire branch) appears in 1136 as a witness to Stephen's Charter of Liberties, it is clear that he had then returned to England. His name also occurs as witness to two other charters of that year. Ælred of Rivaulx records that he had been in banishment throughout the reign of Henry (d. 1135)—"tempore Regis Henrici exulans." From Richard of Hexham we learn that by the Charter of Liberties whatever Henry had taken from Robert de Laci his son Ilbert regained. Henry had indeed granted the Honour of Pontefract to William de Maltravers, and apparently one of Ilbert's own retainers, named Pain, promptly slew de Maltravers; and

[1] This Ilbert was the son of Robert de Laci.

a charter (Class 25, 9 Duchy of Lancaster) lets us know that Stephen *pardons* the men of Ilbert de Laci for this murder.

But with regard to Gilbert de Laci, no mention of his restoration occurs, nor does his name appear among those of the witnesses to the Charter of Liberties given at Oxford in 1136. On the other hand, at the opening of the Civil War, within two years later (1137-8), he and his kinsman, Geoffrey de Talbot, appear fighting in Herefordshire, at Bristol (May), and at Bath, under command of Robert, Duke of Gloucester, on behalf of the Empress Maud against the new king. The south-west of England, with the exception of Gloucester, in fact, had become solid against Stephen. Milo of Gloucester welcomed the king to the castle of that city in May, 1138; and at this time, or but little before it, Stephen confirmed to Milo's son and Cecilia the inheritances both of Hugh de Laci and FitzJohn.

That being so, any hope of recovery of the de Laci Honour by Gilbert de Laci from Stephen was put beyond all present possibility. Moreover, it sealed him to the side of the Empress, from whose possible successes much might some day be won. By the summer of 1139, however, Milo and Roger had so effectually cooled off from Stephen, that they were preparing to receive and welcome the Empress herself upon her arrival in September of that year. She was later invited from Bristol to Gloucester by Milo himself, and there she conferred upon him the reward of his conversion by giving him the Constableship of St. Briavels and the Forest of Dean. Stephen deprived him, on the other hand, of the Constableship of England. From this, further, by charter of July 5th, 1141 (Cf. *Fœdera*, 1, 8), Maud advanced him to the Earldom of Hereford; and one of the witnesses to her charter is Gilbert de Laci. His hopes must have seemed fair.

This proves at once both his fidelity to her cause and his prominence; but we do not gather what, if any, rewards were granted him for his own services. That he would endeavour to recover his family possessions we may be sure, and indeed finally he became repossessed of these. But he was now

brought into unpleasantly close contact with Milo's son, who was actually enjoying them with Pain FitzJohn's daughter. We shall find later on that dangerous differences did indeed arise between them, and we shall see Roger conspiring to disinherit Gilbert de Laci. It is manifest that the Empress, having gained so important a champion as Milo, dared not advance de Laci's claims against those of Milo's son. Who de Laci was will be presently considered.

During the next two years the cause of the Empress suffered gravely, in spite of Milo's wealth and influence. His accidental death on Christmas Day, 1143, at Gloucester, only accentuated its downfall. She found herself besieged at Oxford by Stephen himself. There is neither evidence to prove that Gilbert de Laci forsook her cause for that of Stephen, nor that the Empress ever recompensed him for his services. The only notice of him in 1146 is contained in a document which says that her brother, Robert, Earl of Gloucester, surrendered all his claims over the fiefs of Ilbert and Gilbert de Laci (in France) to the Bishop of Bayeux. In this year the Empress withdrew to Normandy. In the following year, 1147, Robert, Earl of Gloucester, also died.

No sooner does Henry II, succeed to Stephen's throne than a strange gleam of light is thrown upon Gilbert de Laci, namely a treaty of alliance between Roger, now Earl of Hereford, and William, Earl of Gloucester (neither of them in favour with the new king), directed especially to the disinheriting of Gilbert (Duchy of Lancaster, Box A, No. 24). This is called, curiously, a "Treaty of Love." From it we cannot but conclude that Gilbert de Laci had already successfully pressed some portion at least of his claims to the forfeited inheritance of his forebears in the de Laci Honour, at the expense certainly of Earl Roger. Other sources discover the ill-favour accorded by the new king to Roger, Earl of Hereford, and the other sons of Milo. In the following year, for instance, when Earl Roger died childless,[1] the king refused to allow any of them to succeed, and sequestrated the earldom. His ground for doing so was no doubt in

[1] October, 1155.

part that it had been illegally conferred upon Earl Roger's father by the Empress Maud eleven years before. But how had Gilbert de Laci recovered his family lands ? Is it probable that the Empress restored them ? It is at least possible.

Immediately following this we find proof of the king's full favour to Gilbert de Laci. The Pipe Roll (p. 144) of 1157 (4 Hen. II.) shows him under new pleas and agreements, in possession of fiefs in the three counties of Herefordshire, Gloucestershire and Salop.[1] In the same year we find him excused the " Donum " to the king ; and a little later occurs the said king's " confirmatio " to him of the possession of Stanton, Ludlow and Ewyas. In fact, he has recovered the lordship of Ludlow and Ewyas, and all the family fees in the other counties, excepting, of course, Wyke or Painswick, and certain others, the marriage-portions of Cecilia, widow of Roger, Earl of Hereford, and his own kinswoman (probably sister), her mother, Sybilla (FitzJohn). It is clear, therefore, that Henry II., on coming to the throne, had at least refused to confirm these hereditaments of de Laci to Earl Roger. Hence his unsuccessful conspiracy against Gilbert de Laci.

The widow of FitzJohn still survived, and the cartulary of Ewyas Harold affords convenient proofs of Gilbert's position. In it he confirms, by a charter, Sybilla's former grant of Leghe to the Abbey of St. Peter (Gloucester), made before 1139 (under her uncle Walter de Laci's abbacy), and later he increases that grant by an addition of pasture situated in the forest of Mascoit.[2] The same cartulary shows Sybilla giving this to the

[1] (1) Herefordshire.—" Et in pdoñ p brevia Regis. Gilberto de Lasci. IX. li. et III. sol."

(2) Gloucestershire.—" Nova Placita et novæ Conventiones et Gilberto de Lasci. XXVI. sol. et VIII. den."

(3) Shropshire.—" Et Gilberto de Lasci. IIII. li. et iiii. sol. et IX. den."

" Et Willelmo fratri Roberto, VI. sol. et ix. den."

[2] " Confirmatio Gilberti de Laceio, testibus Hugo de Eschet, Fratre Roberti, et aliis—de pastura in forestia de Maschoit "—confirming and adding to Sybilla de Laci's grant of wood and stone for building and pasture for cattle.—Cartul. Ewyas. [I owe this valuable evidence to the kindness of the Rev. A. T. Bannister, M.A., Vicar of Ewyas Harold.]

monks for support of Masses to be said for the soul of her late husband, Pain FitzJohn, and for that of her father, Hugh de Laci.

A tried warrior with important possessions in the Welsh border was a personage of peculiar value to the Crown in those violent days. There were to be combated not merely the Welsh themselves, but rebellious Norman barons, whose conduct brought about sieges of Wigmore, Cleobury and Bridgnorth, undertaken by the king himself. A second royal expedition to Wales took place in 1158. We need not question that on these occasions Gilbert de Laci greatly distinguished himself, as also did his son Hugh, afterwards the invader of Ireland and founder of Killeen Castle.[1] The latter, eight years later, is found to be the holder of sixty fees in Herefordshire alone. (*Liber Rubeus*, vol. i., p. 281, Rolls Series.)

We do not know as yet to whom Gilbert de Laci was married. But on the other hand, while Gilbert is found giving houses and lands to the support of a preceptory for the Templars at Quenington,[2] including land at Temple Guiting and Winchcombe, we discover an Agnes de Laci in 1166 (or three years after Gilbert's decease while fighting against Noureddin, Sultan of Aleppo for the release of Bertrand, the captive Grand Master of the Temple[3]), giving the benefice of Quenington, with all its appurtenances, to the Hospital of St. John of Jerusalem in England. This was done in conjunction with Cecilia, Countess of Hereford, who had taken to herself a second husband, William of Poitou. We may venture to take this Agnes to have been Gilbert's wife, for his son Hugh's wife at this time was Roesia de Monmouth, while later he married the daughter of Roderick, King of Connaught, Rose O'Connor (alive in 1224), by each of whom he had several sons. Neither was an Agnes.

The question naturally now arises, who was the father of Gilbert de Laci? Giraldus, who lived and wrote in the days of

[1] Co. Meath. [2] Dugdale, *Monasticon*, pp. 548–9.

[3] The expedition was made under Guy de Lusignan's command.

Gilbert's grandson, says that Gilbert was son of a sister to Roger, Hugh and Walter de Laci, and he names her Emma. Further, he states that he took the name of de Laci in order to inherit the estates. This, in default of other more direct evidence, has been hitherto accepted as his origin, and Giraldus was a writer, if not impeccably accurate, likely to have known. One Emma de Laci had been the mother of Roger and his brothers[1]; so the name of Emma was easily to be connected with the name of de Laci. Mr. A. S. Ellis has conjectured that Emmelina de Hesding, wife of Arnulf de Hesding, was a sister of the above three brothers, but I am aware of no close evidence to support the conjecture. Emmelina is, moreover, not the same as Emma, though cases of confusion may have occurred between these. As to Gilbert's having changed his name (?) (and we are not told what that was) in order to inherit de Laci lands, he may have done so; nevertheless, he appears upon the scene as Gilbert de Laci in the year following Pain FitzJohn's death, namely in 1138, and he did not actually inherit the said lands, it has been shown, until fifteen years later. That he was closely related to the banished Roger de Laci, on the other hand, seems not a little probable, especially for two reasons. Firstly, he does not appear until after the death of Henry I. who had confirmed the banishment of Roger. Secondly, in 1146 the fief of Roger in the Diocese of Bayeux is mentioned with that of his kinsman Robert, under the names of Gilbert and Ilbert de Laci. "Tota feoda Ilberti et Gilberti de Laceio quæ jure tenebant apud Lacium et Campels (Campeaux)." To these, which had been granted to Robert, Earl of Gloucester, by Henry I. in 1101, upon their confiscation, that earl (we saw) still laid claim. The tense of *tenebant* looks as though both these barons had been allowed to hold their respective fiefs in France by Henry I. as from his natural son, and that accounts satisfactorily for Gilbert being found fighting for the Empress under the banner of Earl Robert himself at the sieges of Bristol and Bath. We cannot doubt

[1] Cf. *Cart. Mon. Glouc.*, vol. i., p. 15.

that the de Laci fiefs of two knights mentioned in 1133[1] as being held from the Church of Bayeux were entirely being held by Robert, Earl of Gloucester, and that soon after the two representatives of the two de Laci families, Ilbert and Gilbert, were respectively permitted to enjoy them by him. As we have seen, Ilbert, soon after King Henry's death, appeared as a partisan of Stephen. With him was a younger brother, Henry,[2] who fell in 1138 at the Battle of the Standard (August 22nd). On the whole, we shall be inclined to believe that Gilbert de Laci was not a son of the banished Roger, but was, as Giraldus said, the son of a sister (name as yet unknown); moreover, that he was brother to Sybil Fitz-John.

[1] *Lib. Rubeus*, p. 646, R. 5.

[2] Their sister married to Robert de Lisours. *Cf*, G Roll of the Pipe, Hen. I. 31 (1130). Their mother's name was Emma. She eventually became a nun in the Abbey de St. Amand, to which she gave 22 acres of land at Mortmain. (Cf. *Cal. Doc. France* (Ed. J. H. Round), p. 24.)

SOME NOTES ON THE PURLIEUS OF THE FOREST OF DEAN.

By EDWARD CONDER, F.S.A.

In 1878, the late Sir John Maclean pointed out the importance of collecting materials for the earlier history of the Forest of Dean, as in his opinion it was "an obscure page of Gloucestershire history that deserved to be cleared up." [1]

I venture, therefore, to contribute the following notes, deeming them worthy of the attention of future writers on the subject.

It is well known that during the thirteenth century the perambulations of the northern bounds of the Forest were altered from time to time, and the area enclosed consequently considerably enlarged. Under Henry II., Richard I., and John, the boundary was gradually extended, until at length it practically included all the manors south of the modern high road from Gloucester, passing through Newent, Kilcott, and Gorsley, to Bollitree, in the parish of Weston-under-Penyard, Herefordshire; from there to Walford, south of Ross, and thence to the River Wye at Goodrich Ferry.

According to Rudder,[2] these bounds were set forth at Gloucester in 1282 in consequence of certain disputes respecting the ancient Forest boundary. The effect of this was the appointment of a commission to inquire and report on the grievance.

In 1300 a perambulation was made, defining the boundary as advised by the commissioners. It was then made clear to the tenants that all lands taken in after the coronation of

[1] *Trans. B. and G. Arch. Soc.*, vol. iii., p. 367, and vol. xiv., p. 356.

[2] Rudder, *Hist.*, Appendix, Nos. 1 and 2.

Henry II. should be disafforested, but the woods to be considered as purlieus of the Forest.[1] This latter consideration was due to the fact that such woods might harbour the deer, and where no rights of free warren existed the Verderers would be free to control the cutting of the underwood.

There was, however, a charter of Henry III., dated 1225,[2] —much earlier than the date given by Rudder—which disafforested all lands taken in since the coronation of Henry II. (1154), excepting such lands as were in the king's demesne.

This charter is quoted by Mr. Wood in a paper on Penyard Chace, read before the Woolhope Naturalists' Field Club in 1901.[6] Mr. Wood also quotes the verdict of the jury, given on 18th April, 1228,[3] when the following boundary was defined as the ancient bounds of the Forest before the coronation of Henry II. That is to say :—

" From Gloucester Bridge, along the great road to Newent, and thence by the same road as far as Gorstley Brook ; thence ascending the same brook to its head, and then by road to Brooms Ash ; and thence going down by the same road to Alton ; and thence by the same road to the Wye." The Jurors also said that " the Bishop of Hereford has his chace by ancient title in a certain wood called Lax Penyard, within the Forest aforesaid.[4]

The perambulation of the Forest in 1300 is given in detail,[5] and shows the following boundary line. From Gloucester Bridge to Newent, and on to Ell Bridge, and thence by the brook to " Gorstelyeforde ; " and thence " following the metes and bounds between the counties of Gloucester and Hereford, to a place where is a stream called the Bishop's Brook, which falls into the Wye." From this it will be seen that Herefordshire was entirely disafforested, but the old northern boundary in Gloucestershire remained much the same.

[1] *Ibid.*, p. 28. [2] 9 Henry III., Forest Charter.

[3] Chancery Ancient Forest Proceedings, No. 10; also Close Roll, 12 Henry III., m. 10.d.

[4] *Trans. Woolhope Field Club*, 1900–1, p. 207.

[5] T. R., Forest Proceedings, No. 255, 28 Edward I.

By the following deeds and charters connected with the manor of Kilcott,[1] and the extract from the chartulary of the Priory of Newent, it will be apparent that although strictly within the Forest bounds, yet the parish of Newent was debatable ground, being a long way to the north, and of importance only to the Forest so far as its scattered woodlands might harbour deer.

The most northerly point in the perambulation was the manor of Kilcott, in the parish of Newent, held at that time in part by John Muchgros, in right of his wife, Dulcia or Cecilia, heiress of William Avernal of English Bicknor, and[2] partly by William Waleran, in right of his wife, one of the coheiresses of Hugh de Kilpec,[3] a former lord of the manor.

About the year 1280, Bogo de Knovill, Governor of Dolvoron Castle, on the Welsh marshes, a former sheriff of Shropshire and Staffordshire,[4] one of King Edward's trusty supporters during the first Welsh war of 1277, purchased from William Waleran his moiety of Kilcott Manor, and obtained considerable grants of woodland from the king.

It is probable that Edward I., during his expedition into North Wales, had been anxious to secure the loyal co-operation of his tenants-in-fee, on the confines of the marches, by grants of free warren and coppice rights. Bogo de Knovill appears to have taken advantage of this franchise with regard to Kilcott Wood.

A writ, dated 5th December, 1280,[5] was issued to Ralph de Sandwich, steward of the king's demesne, calling upon him to inquire into the exact amount of damage and loss, if any,

[1] The manor of Kilcott was formerly part of the royal demesne (T. R. E.), and as such, had been excepted by the charter of Henry III. (1225) from being disafforested. See *Ante*, p. 294.

[2] *Trans. B. and G. Arch. Soc.*, vol. iv., p. 318, Pedigree of this family, &c.

[3] Rudder.

[4] *Complete Peerage*, by G. E. C. De Knovill was Sheriff from 1275 to 1278.

[5] Chan. Inq. P. M., 9 Edward I., No. 65.

should the king grant Kilcott Wood to Bogo de Knovill, &c., &c. A jury of twelve men stated on oath at the inquiry which was held in February, 1281, that if the king granted to Bogo his great Wood of Killecote—which is within the Forest of Dene—to sell and take profit thereof, it would be to the damage of the king and the hurt of the said Forest, but what damage and hurt they knew not. They said further, that if granted to the said Bogo to sell the wood, he (the king) would lose all the attachments of the said wood of the Verderers, who were wont, and ought, to plead before the justices of the pleas of the Forest, and to be there amerced. He would also lose the repair of his beasts which came and went, &c., &c.

This inquiry was held on the Tuesday next after the Purification of the Virgin Mary, 1281.

The result of this inquest appears to have been that the damage was slight, and Kilcott Wood was granted to Bogo de Knovill.

Yet it was subject to further inquiries with regard to the large timber.

In 1283 an inquiry was held at Newent before Grimbald Pauncefoot,[1] keeper of the Forest, when a jury of twelve stated on oath that "if the king granted to Bogo de Knovill that he might cut down the large oaks in all his Wood of Kyllicote, which is within the metes of the Forest of Dene, and take his profit thereof, it would be to the damage and hurt of the king yearly of ten shillings, by reason of the attachments of the sergeants and other ministers of the said forest, and of the repair of the beasts of the king.

"It is also to the damage of William de Astonene (Aston Ingham), who has common when pannage[2] happens of five

[1] Chan. Inq. P. M., 2 Edward I., No. 68. This inquest may have been one following upon the writ of 1281.

[2] *Pannage* = The right of pasturing swine in woods. Also *Pannage* = The money taken by the agistors for the privilege of feeding hogs upon the mast of the forest.

shillings ; and of Thomas de Bolesdon [Bolesdon Manor joined Kilcott], who has common as above of five shillings ; and of the Rector of the Church of Aston, for the time being, who has common like the said William of five shillings. There is there no repair of beasts, except rarely passing through and returning."

In this document we notice the words "within the metes of the Forest," *i.e.* within the boundaries of the perambulations.

Again Bogo de Knovill was successful, and in June, 1284, licence was granted to him to fell all the oaks in his Wood of Kylcote, within the metes of the Forest, provided that the underwood remain equally thick for harbouring of deer.[1]

This last clause appears to have troubled de Knovill, as in the following year he obtained a charter[2] of Free Warren over his lands at Kilcott. Bogo de Knovill died in 1307, and was succeeded by his son Bogo.[3]

In the same year, soon after the accession of Edward II., a further inquiry was considered necessary concerning the woods at Kilcott, held by Bogo, son of the grantee.

On 19th March, 1307–8, a precept was issued to John Hanlowe, Warden of the Forest of Dene, to hold an inquiry "whether it be to our loss or prejudice, or of others, or an injury to the aforesaid Forest, if we grant permission to our beloved and trusty Bogo de Knovill, that in his coppice of Kyllecote, which is within the confines[4] of the aforesaid Forest, he should be able to cut down his coppice, and sell the underwood when cut down, and to make profit therefrom, &c., &c. ; and how much that coppice contains in itself by number of acres or perches of the Forest, and if there be a well-stocked cover for our wild game, &c., &c. Given at Westminster, 19 March, in the first year of our reign."

[1] Patent Roll, 12 Edward I., Mem. 9.
[2] Charter Rolls, 13 Edward I., No. 95.
[3] Inq. P. M., 35 Edward I.
[4] Qui est infra forestam predictam.

The answer to this was that at an inquest held at St. Briavells on Friday, the morrow of St. Ambrose,[1] in the first year of King Edward, son of the illustrious King Edward, in the presence of Roger de Tydemerch, deputy of Lord John Hanlowe, Keeper of the Forest of Dene, &c. 12 Jurors: Hugo de Bray, Richard de Malemort, Walter de Auste, Richard Edy, Robert de Malemort, Walter de Ketford, Robert Wyther, William Ely, John de Aure, William Peressone, William Bleyth de Killicote, and John Yuor. Who say on their oath that it is not to the loss or prejudice of the king, nor of others, nor to the injury of the aforesaid Forest if the said Bogo cut down and thereby make profit from his coppice aforesaid. They also say that there is no cover [place of resort] of the king's wild game, because it is a long distance from the covers of the aforesaid Forest, and that the coppice contains in itself sixty acres.[2]

The following extract from the chartulary of Newent Priory is of considerable interest in showing that the woods within the manor, although purlieus, were not subject to the Verderer's Court.

The Priory of Newent was a cell of the Benedictine Abbey of St. Mary of Cormeilles, in the diocese of Lisieux, Normandy.

The Manor of Newent had been given to the abbey by William I. at the instance of Roger, second Earl of Hereford. The prior at Newent acted as bailiff to the abbot, who in all official documents is spoken of as lord of the manor.

In consequence of certain reports from the prior on the subject of the alteration of the boundaries of the Forest, the abbot objected to the visitations, or "viewings" of his lands and wood by the Forest officials, and apparently appealed to Edward II. for protection against their trespass and orders.

From the chartulary of the priory[3] I take the following:—

"Hugh le Despenser, Justice of the King's Forest this side of Trent, sent the following writ to John Hanlo, Warden of the

[1] St. Ambrose, April 4th.

[2] Inq. ad quod damnum, 1 Edward II., file 66, No. 1.

[3] Brit. Mus. add. MS. 15,668, fol. 4.

Forest of Dean or his deputy, 29 January, 1 Edw. II. [1308]. Edward the King to Hugh le Despenser. It is shown to us on behalf of the Abbot of Cormeilles that whereas Henry King of England, by his charter which we have inspected, granted to the Abbot and Monks of Cormeilles the Manor of Newent and Wood of Yarclesdon [1] in the Forest of Dean, to hold according as they had held that wood from the time of King Henry (grandfather of the said Henry) from which time the Abbot there had reasonable estovers [2] in the said wood; yet now you and your servants molest the said Abbot therein: We therefore command you to desist from such molestations. Langeleye,[3] 7 Dec., 2 Edw. II. [1308]."

For some years this warning was attended to, but in 1323 the Prior of Newent had again to appeal against the conduct of the Keeper of the Forest. From the same chartulary I take the following:—

Writ dated at Gloucester, 9 June, 16 Edw. II.

"William de Cleydone, lieutenant of Lord Adomar [Aymer] de Valence Earl of Pembroke, Justice of the Forest this side of Trent. Having inspected the Charters of the progenitors of the now King, granting to the Prior of Newent estovers and all necessaries for house-bote hey-bote and fuel in his Wood of Yarkeldone and hearing that Robert de Sapi, Keeper of the Forest of Dene has impeded the said Prior in this matter he commands the said Robert or his deputy to leave the said Prior and his men unmolested in the taking of estovers and other necessaries."

Even this writ did not prevent the succeeding keeper from troubling the prior, as the following entry to the same effect occurs in the Newent Chartulary, dated 1325:—

[1] Now known as Newent Wood, situate on the northern slope of May Hill. A farm there is still known as "Yartledon."

[2] Estovers—comprehending house, plough, fire, cart and hay or hedge botes, *i.e.* so much of the wood as was necessary for fuel and the repairs of buildings and fences.

[3] Langley, in Wychwood Forest, Oxon., four miles from Burford, a favourite hunting lodge of our early kings.

"Writ of Hugh le Despenser, Earl of Winchester, Justice of the Forest this side of Trent, to John de Myners, Keeper of the Forest of Dene, or his deputy," warning the keeper not to molest the prior in his taking estovers, &c., &c. (similar to the above). Dated at Kennington, 17 Oct., 19 Edw. II.

As I find no further evidence that this right of estovers was questioned, it would appear that the prior at last gained his liberty from the control of the Forest keepers on this point. With regard to this wood being within the Forest boundary, there is an interesting note in the priory chartulary to the following effect :—

"Writ of Hugh le Despenser, Earl of Winchester,[1] Justice of the Forest this side of Trent, to John de Myners, Keeper of the Forest of Dene or his Deputy. Whereas the King has commanded his Justices of the Peace to enlarge the highways according to the Statute of Winchester,[2] that merchants and others may pass more safely ; the said Hugh commands the said John to suffer the Prior of Newent to enlarge the highway in his Wood of Yarkeldone. Dated 1326. Bardesley, 5 Aug., 20 Edw. II."

This writ distinctly shows the wood to be within the jurisdiction of the Forest Court at that date.

The Abbot of Gloucester was also interested in the alteration of the Forest bounds by the perambulation of 1300, so far as his lordship over the Manor of Hope Mansel was concerned. Before that date his woods were within the Forest, and in 1278 he had to obtain leave before he could use the "fallage"[3] or cut any timber.

In 1324 his manor lying in Herefordshire was without the Forest, yet his woods were considered to be purlieus. He was nevertheless able to cut wood in Birchwood and Hope Maloysell without demand or view of the foresters.[4] By a petition[5]

[1] Created Earl 1322. [2] 13 Edward I. (1285).
[3] Pat., 9 Edward I. Esch., 9 Edward I., No. 57.
[4] Clau. Rot., 17 Edward II., m. 21—22.
[5] Pet. Parl., 11 Edward III.

in parliament 2 Ed. III., the Abbot and Convent of Gloucester beg their right to the Wood of Hope Maloysell as heretofore (they said) in purlieu, &c., &c.

In 1807 a private Act was obtained for enclosing "certain commonable and waste lands once called the Abbot's Purlieu, and since the Reformation, the Bishop's Purlieu," within the Manor and Parish of Hope Mansell.[1]

The boundary question was also a subject of interest to the Bishop of Hereford. During a tour or visitation of his diocese in 1286, the Bishop visited Ross,[2] and on that occasion a deer hunt was organised in the Chace of Penyard, which was then within the Forest. The register of Bishop Swinfield records the following interesting particulars :—

"A.D. 1286. Be it remembered that when the Lord Bishop was at Ross on Monday next before S. Matthew the Apostle, his huntsman with some of his men coursed in his Chace of Penyard and caught a young stag and there arose a dispute between the Huntsman and the Foresters of the King about that stag in respect of the place wherein it was caught; and after the departure of the Bishop an inquiry[3] was held at Hull Cnole [Howl Hill, near Walford] on Thursday before the feast of S. Matthew 14 Ed. I. 12 men out of Walford, Coughton, Bicknore, Ruardean, Hope Mansell, Longhope, Eccleswell and Dean being Juorors. The witnesses, keepers and other servants, were examined on oath by Grimbald Pauncefoot and the Verderers whether the stag was killed within the Forest or not. All the men examined declared that the stag was caught without the Forest where the Chace of the Lord Bishop was wont to be; and the Villagers and the Juorors agreed in all things. When Grimbald Pauncefoot enquired of whom the hunting party consisted, the Villagers pleaded ignorance, but

[1] Additions to vol. ii. of Duncumb's *Hist. of Herefordshire*, by W. H. Cooke, p. 371.

[2] "Roll of the household expenses of Bishop Swinfield, 1289 and 1290," Camden Soc., 1854.

[3] Inquisitio de cervo de Ros Reg. Swinf., fol. 37a.

the Foresters asserted that William de Clevering the Huntsman N. the Carter, John de Herley were the persons.

After 1300 the bishop's " chace " at Penyard was of course free from Forest Law. Mr. Wood mentions in his interesting paper on Penyard Chace, already noticed, that there is a record of a commission issued in January, 1227–8, to Hugh Nevill to proceed to the king's Forest of Penyard, and there set out by metes and bounds a division between the king's " fee of Penyard " and the bishop's " fee of Ross." Unfortunately Mr. Wood was unable to find the return to this writ. There are doubtless many other inquisitions concerning the disafforestation and the purlieus of the Forest still to see the light. The foregoing pages will, I trust, assist those interested in the history of the Forest of Dene.

ON A ROMAN ROAD FROM OLD SARUM TO UPHILL, AND ITS STRUCTURE AT CHEWTON MENDIP, WHERE CUT THROUGH IN 1906.

By JAMES McMURTRIE, F.G.S.

In a former communication to this Society on Roman roads (in volume xxvi., part 2), and in describing the course of the Fosse road to the south of Bath, the writer pointed out that "on the summit of the Mendips near Beacon Hill, the Fosse road crossed another reputed Roman road leading from Old Sarum to Uphill, which, so far as he knew, had never been examined." Collinson had made no mention of this road, but Sir Richard Colt Hoare, in his great work on *Ancient Wiltshire*, and in the volume on the "Roman Æra," had described the course of the road throughout its entire length.

COURSE OF THE ROAD.

Beginning at Old Sarum, he appears to have traced the road wherever it was traceable, through the counties of Wilts and Somerset to the River Axe at Uphill, and he subsequently had it carefully surveyed and engraved on a map which accompanied his book. No description of the road having been given in the ancient itineraries, Sir Richard had to investigate its course with the help of such landmarks as he could find, defining it on the map by a solid line where the evidence was satisfactory, and indicating it by a dotted line where there was nothing definite to go upon, the dotted portions forming a considerable part of the whole. In many places where the ancient track had been incorporated with the modern road, or where its course lay through cultivated land and its structure had been obliterated, he appears to have been

guided by the stations, earthworks and tumuli which are generally to be found along the line of such roads or adjacent thereto, and in such cases some margin must be allowed for error; but wherever possible he sought out and identified the road itself.

After leaving the fortress of Sorbiodunum at Old Sarum and crossing the River Avon, he (Sir Richard Hoare) found it difficult to follow for the first three miles, but at a distance of $3\frac{1}{2}$ miles, in Grovelly Wood, he met the first positive trace, which he was able to follow by Dinton Beeches to Stockton Wood ten miles from Old Sarum, which was so strongly fortified by earthworks that he supposed it to have been the first Roman station along the road, as also probably a former settlement of the ancient Britons. Proceeding onwards by Chicklade to Pertwood farm, he has noticed an interesting spot where the Roman engineer, with praiseworthy consideration, had turned aside to avoid the grave mound of an ancient chief; but beyond this spot all traces of the road were lost for a considerable distance, the materials of which it was composed having been presumably carried away.

Passing onwards by Monckton Deveril and Maiden Bradley, the next probable point was found at Gaer Hill near Frome, and after crossing a broad valley by Wanstrow where all trace of it was lost, Sir Richard was able to follow it by Long Cross to Beacon Hill, one of the highest summits of the Mendips, near which it crossed the Fosse road from Bath to Ilchester as already stated.

On leaving the Fosse its course was towards Masbury, one of the largest camps in those parts, which it passes on its northern flank; but again striking the modern road, it followed it to Green Ore on the Wells road. About half a mile to the west of Green Ore and thirty-eight from Old Sarum, it again leaves the modern road and crosses the Chewton Warren to Castle Comfort Inn, a well-known hostelry (which is hardly in agreement with its name). This stretch of the road between Green Ore and Castle Comfort is the only one which the Ord-

nance Surveyors have felt justified in naming as they have done, "Roman road to Old Sarum," and it is here that the sections were cut through last autumn which will presently be described.

Sir Richard Hoare has pointed out the numerous British settlements, earthworks, sepulchral barrows and ancient camps met with on each side along its course. Adjoining it near Castle Comfort, four large British hut circles have been marked on the Ordnance map, although now hardly traceable on the ground, and not far distant are numerous barrows, the most conspicuous being the Nine Barrows near the road from Chewton to Cheddar.

After leaving Castle Comfort, the course of the road is by Temple Down and Ubley Warren to Charterhouse, where there are evidences of an extensive Roman station and settlement first noticed by Skinner, of Camerton, abundance of pottery from the finest Samian to the coarsest descriptions, Roman coins, gold and other ornaments having been found there, a collection of which is to be seen in the Bristol Museum. In further proof of its importance and antiquity, an amphitheatre has been discovered in an adjoining field, and another is said to have been levelled by a farmer who had evidently more regard to agriculture than archaeology.

Passing onwards from Charterhouse the road is not very traceable, but it is believed to have crossed the lofty summit of Black Down to Shipham, and thence under Banwell Hill to Old Mixon, where Sir Richard Hoare quaintly says he recovered the scent. A straight line of road leads from here to what he considered a Roman station, near Uphill, which he named Ad Axium, where a square earthwork and antique pottery had been found.

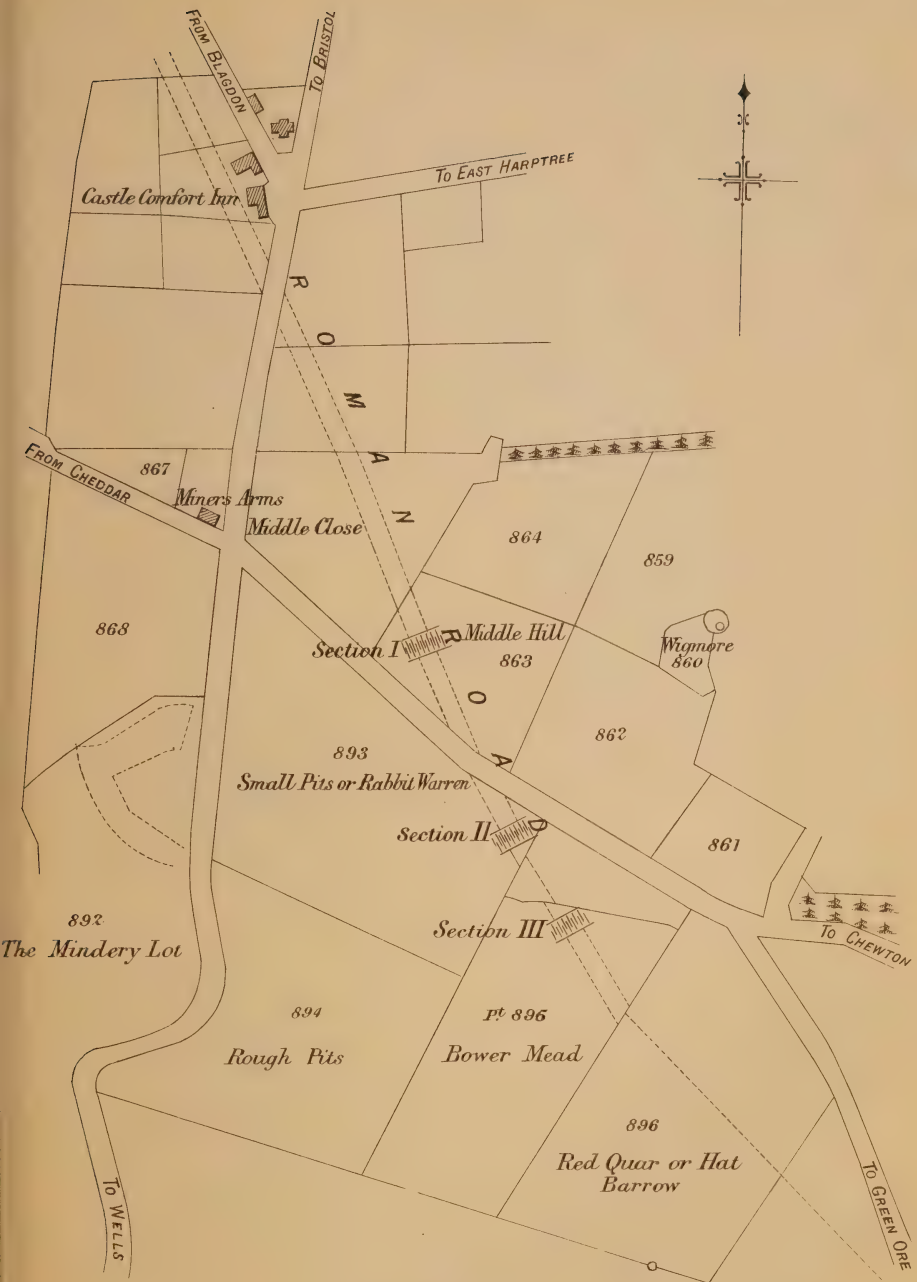
He had thus been able to trace this previously unexplored road for the long distance of fifty-five miles, from the strong fortress of Sorbiodunum to its seaport on the River Axe, and near which, for its security, the headland of Brean Down had been strongly fortified, possibly to guard the passage to another Roman station at Tibia Amnis on the Welsh coast near Cardiff.

Those who are acquainted with the Mendip country and its mineral resources can have little doubt that one great object of making this long line of road, for the most part through a barren country, was to convey the metals found in those parts westward to the sea, or by way of Old Sarum to the south coast for shipment to the Continent, there being ample evidence that the Romans, like the races which had preceded them, were actively engaged in mining, being as skilful in such pursuits as they were brave in war.

STRUCTURE OF THE ROAD.

Although Sir Richard Colt Hoare made so able and exhaustive an investigation of the course of this road, he does not appear to have cut through it at any point, and it was to supply this want that the writer carried out certain excavations during the past autumn. Having brought it to the notice of the Earl Waldegrave, whose land the road passes through, he readily gave permission for it to be explored, and the writer would desire to express his obligation to his lordship, not only for this permission, but for the help of the estate workmen, and for his personal assistance while making the exploration. The portion of the road selected for this purpose was between Green Ore and Castle Comfort, where it crosses the Chewton Warren and adjoining land, and has been little disturbed from the earliest times. The accompanying diagram (No. 1) will explain its course at this part of the hill, and will show where three sections, numbered I., II., and III., were cut through it on the 21st and 22nd September last. These points were selected because the road was better defined there than in the adjoining land, and it will be observed that they are in separate fields, the object being to obtain fair average tests at places some distance apart.

No. I. Section was taken in enclosure No. 863, "Middle Hill," on the Chewton Tithe Map; No. II. Section 770 yards to the eastwards in enclosure No. 893, "Small Pits"; and No. III. Section, which is 390 yards farther to the east, is in enclosure No. 895, "Bower Mead, or Clay Pits," the two last-mentioned



PLAN SHEWING

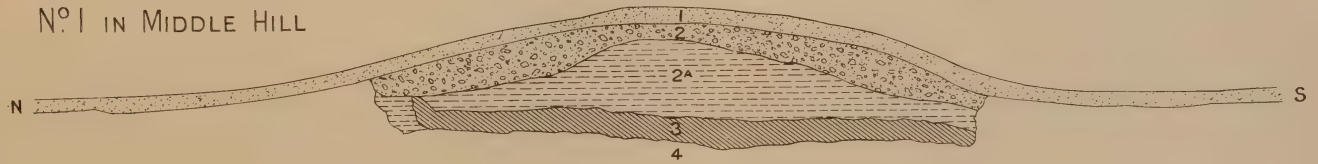
LINE OF ROMAN ROAD AT CHEWTON MENDIP

Scale 24 Chains to 1 Inch.

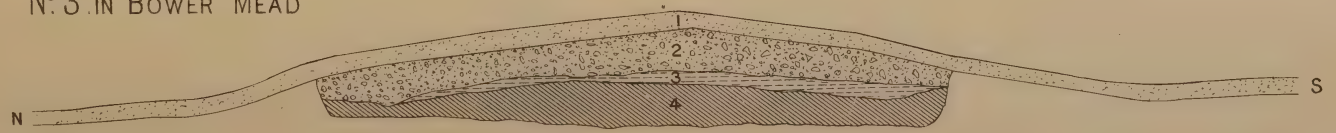
C.F. KELL & SON, WESTMINSTER.

SECTIONS OF OLD SARUM ROAD AT CHEWTON MENDIP

No. 1 IN MIDDLE HILL



No. 3 IN BOWER MEAD



C.F. KELL & SON, WESTMINSTER.

being within Chewton Warren, once the scene of active mining operations of which evidence exists on all hands.

Before commencing operations in each case, careful levellings of the surface were taken, showing its elevation above the adjoining land; a strip of turf, about two feet wide, was then removed right across the road and for a foot or two on each side of it, the structural formation of the road being then cut through layer after layer, the thickness being carefully noted, and specimens kept for reference.

From these measurements sections have been prepared, which are shown on Diagram No. II., which will enable the members to see at a glance the general result of these explorations. The following tabular statement shows side by side the average thickness of the beds in each section, and will be useful for comparison :—

	DESCRIPTION OF LAYERS.	I. Section.	II. Section.	III. Section.
		Inches.	Inches.	Inches.
1	Turf	3	3½	3
2	Road metal and ballast	6	7½	6½
2A	Reddish brown earth	5½	—	—
3	Black clay or earth	7½	4	2½
	Total	22	15	12
4	Yellow and brown clay, believed to be the original subsoil	—	14½	6
	Total depth of excavation	22	29½	18
	Width of metalled road	19 feet	(imperfect)	19ft. 6in.
	Total width of road formation	27 ,,		27 feet

From these measurements and the drawings shown on the diagram it will be seen that, although not quite alike, the principal layers are common to all, viz. the turf, the road metal and ballast which lie immediately under, and a certain layer of black earth or clay which may be considered the bottom bed of the road formation, the yellow clay which lies beneath, as proved by certain trial holes, being

apparently the original subsoil of the country. They agree quite as closely as would be found in modern roads if cut through in the same manner, there being only two differences to which attention may be called. In the No. I. Section there is an extra layer consisting of reddish brown earth, marked No. 2A, the road having probably required a little more levelling up at that place. And in the No. II. Section it will be observed that both road metal and black earth are wanting on the north side of the road. There being a depression in the adjoining ground on that side, it is probable that either mining operations or a swallet hole may have interfered with the road formation at this point, and Nos. I. and III. may therefore be regarded as typical sections of the road on this part of the hill.[1]

Turning to the materials of the road and the specimens taken therefrom, it may be observed that in each case the road metal and ballast seem to have been obtained from the Old Red Sandstone of the neighbourhood, the stones of which it is composed being of all shapes and sizes, from one to eight inches, intermixed with fine stone or earth. There is no appearance of paving or pitching of any kind, the material having been thrown promiscuously together, but, as will be observed, with a well-rounded off convex surface, on which there is no apparent trace of ruts or tracks of any kind, from which it may be inferred that it was formerly used by pack horses.

Immediately under the ballast in No. I. and II. Sections there occurs the bed of black earth or clay to which reference has been made. What this bed is it is difficult to say, there being nothing to correspond with it in trial holes which were put down a few yards away on either side, and there is nothing quite like it in the adjoining ground, where the surface in places consists of boggy earth which it is difficult to imagine can have decayed into the material of which the specimen is composed. In Dr. Wright's book on the *Celt, the Roman and the Saxon,* he has stated as follows :—

[1] Section No. II., being imperfect, has been omitted from the diagram.

"The Romans began the construction of their roads by making two parallel furrows the intended width of the road, and then removing all loose earth between them till they came to the hard solid ground, and then they filled in this excavation with fine earth hard beaten in. This first layer has been called the 'pavementum.'"

The black earth or clay met with in these excavations being, especially in the No. I. Section, clearly below the original surface level, may it not be the representative of the fine pounded earth with which, according to Wright, the Romans were wont to begin their road formations?

For the purpose of comparison, attention is directed to a diagram of the Fosse road at Radstock, where last cut through in the summer of 1904, with which the simple structure now described stands out in striking contrast.[1] Instead of the five layers met with in the Fosse, which are characteristic of the typical Roman road, the Chewton excavations show only two, or in one instance three, below the turf, and there is a total absence of the elaborate structure commonly associated with the great military and trunk roads of that period.

As the writer pointed out, however, in a former paper, it is not to be supposed that all Roman roads, or even any considerable number of them, conformed to the high standard of the Fosse, nothing quite equal to it having been discovered in other parts of England. Besides the great trunk roads there were others in the nature of cross roads, less perfect in their structure, which would appear to have been made entirely for commercial purposes, and some of them may have been the trade routes of the ancient Britons before the Roman conquest. There were also what might be styled country roads as well as by-roads, for communication between estates.

In a recent book on *Our Roman Highways*, by Urquhart Forbes and Arnold Burmeister, when speaking of the second class or commercial roads they state that:—

"A road of this kind is known to have run from Old Sarum

[1] See a similar section in vol. xxvi., part 2, p. —.

(Sorbiodunum) through the mineral districts of Mendip to Brean Down, in Somersetshire."

So that the sections now submitted are only what was to have been expected under the circumstances.

According to Watkins, the Roman roads in Lancashire and Cheshire were largely constructed of gravel, and it will be remembered that the Roman road across Durdham Down, formerly explored by Professor Lloyd Morgan, Mr. A. Trice Martin, Mr. Pritchard and Mr. Hudd, was equally simple and not very dissimilar in character, although it was one of even greater importance, being the great road from Silchester through Bath, Bristol and Sea Mills, to South Wales. There is nothing, therefore, in the simplicity of construction of the Old Sarum road to throw doubt on its antiquity, and if not of Roman age, it was possibly an ancient British track reconstructed during the Roman occupation. But it should be added, that although careful watch was kept during the excavations, no coin, pottery, or other relic was found to fix with certainty the period to which it belonged.

NOTES ON THE IRON ORE MINES OF THE FOREST OF DEAN, AND ON THE HISTORY OF THEIR WORKING.

Being the substance of an Address

By Mr. W. H. FRYER,

At the Spring Meeting of the Bristol and Gloucestershire Archæological Society on 29th May, 1906.

The Forest of Dean mineral basin comprises the coal measures, consisting of parallel layers of greystone and shale with intervening seams of coal, and resting upon the Millstone Grit. Below this lies the Carboniferous Limestone, which forms an elevated ridge surrounding the before-mentioned measures, with the exception of the north-west and south-east portions of the rim, where, long before the overlapping coal measures were deposited, an ocean current had washed away the limestone, and deposited its debris in the "Severn Sea."

The upper portion of the Carboniferous Limestone consists, locally, of beds of grey and whitish limestone, varying from six inches to as many feet thick. The total thickness of these beds is about twenty yards. Between them and the Great Red Limestone lies a bed of coarse-grained crystalline limestone, varying in thickness from ten to twenty yards. It is locally termed the "crease," and contains the iron ore proper of the Forest of Dean.

The ore is dispersed amongst it in the shape of irregular "pipe veins," consisting of variously ramified strings descending from the surface, and frequently opening out into pockets, or "churns" as the miners call them, sometimes as large as the nave of a church. At other times the ore spreads out in beds, or runs back in vertical joints far into the underlying Red

Limestone, the whole forming a deposit characterised by its extreme irregularity.

We are now standing on the outer edge of the crease, where it rests on the Red Limestone; and the scowles in front of us are some of the vertical joints, or fissures, from which the ore has been extracted.

How the ore got into these strings, or "churns," may be thus explained. Besides being porous and permeable by water, the crease is slowly soluble in water containing carbonic acid. As the rain water falls on decaying vegetable matter it picks up the resulting carbonic acid, and filtering down through the crease the acidulated water would naturally form channels in it. The joint action of water and decomposing vegetable matter is also capable of carrying away the iron which exists as ferric oxide in the Red Sandstones of the adjacent Millstone Grit and Old Red Sandstone, and as sulphide of iron in the coal measures; and as the resulting ferrous solutions percolate through the porous crease, they would become in turn decomposed by it, and deposit the oxide of iron thus liberated. In this way the two processes of excavating and filling the channels in the crease will in all probability have been simultaneous.

The way in which the ore occurs appears to agree with this hypothesis. The ore nearest the surface, and consequently the earliest deposited, is usually harder than the one found at considerable depth, where its deposition would have been more recent. Then again, the richest ore is usually found in the middle of the churn, whilst the ore at the sides, where it abuts on the surrounding crease, usually consists of what is called "grey ore," which is composed of particles of pure ore intermixed with the crease, and in appearance somewhat resembles granite.

Irrespective of physical conditions, there are three varieties of ore, all of them containing the iron in the form of peroxide, but differing from each other in the respective quantities of water chemically combined with it, viz. :—

1. *Limonite.*—Contains, when pure, peroxide of iron,

85.56 per cent. ; combined water, 14.44 per cent. This is by far the most common variety. It has a brownish yellow streak, or powder. When hard it is called by the miners "black brush," or "pipy brush," or "flinty brush," according to its outward character and appearance. When granular, or pulverulent, it is termed "smith ore." The finest and brightest portions constitute "yellow ochre."

2. *Göthite* (= *Goethite*). — Contains peroxide of iron, 89.89 per cent. ; combined water, 10.11 per cent. This variety has a blood-red streak, or powder, and is rarely, if ever, found except in a pulverulent form, or else dispersed among the surrounding crease. In the former case it is called "red colour," and in the latter case "colour spirt." It is chiefly used for paint making.

3. *Turgite*.—Contains peroxide of iron, 94.67 per cent. ; combined water, 5.33 per cent. This variety is, perhaps, still less generally found, but in one part of the district it forms a considerable portion of the bulk. The lumps are dark bluish purple in colour, with a reddish purple streak, or powder. Some of the more pure and softer portions are used for paints ; the remainder is sent off with the ordinary furnace ore for making iron.

In ancient times the ore had, in the first instance, to be simply dug out at the surface, but as the excavations became deeper it had to be carried up. This was done in shallow, oval boxes or trays, called "Billies," which were slung over the shoulder, held in position by a crooked stick, and carried by boys. The same method is followed now in places where trams cannot be taken up to the ore. Indeed, the only real difference between the ancient and the modern system of working arises from the greater depth from which nearly all the ore has now to be raised, and from the discovery and use of gunpowder for blasting. The primitive way of getting the hard ore was by lighting fires against it, and when hot, throwing water over it, thus causing it to crack. A later method would seem to have been to ram unslaked lime into the crevices, or into holes bored

for the purpose, and then plug them up, when the damp would gradually slake the lime, and thus break down the ore. Old wood ashes and lime, which would appear to have been the result of these operations, have sometimes been found mixed with refuse ore in the " old men's " workings. Owing also to the greater depth of the unworked ore, the pits are now farther apart than was formerly the case, and the ore is often conveyed for long distances on tramways to the pit's bottom, whence it is now usually raised by steam engines.

When the mines were first worked the iron was made direct from the ore, without the intermediate process, since adopted, of smelting it and making what is called " pig iron." The ore (unless already fine enough) was first of all pounded down to the size of small peas. It was then mixed with a small quantity of suitable marl, or " clod ore " (as some of the softer descriptions are called), with the addition in some cases of a little lime. The mixture was next made up into lumps, which, when dry, were placed in a small furnace and embedded in charcoal. When lit, the fire was urged by a blast, produced either by bellows or by a fall of water in a machine like a " trompe " (still used in some parts of the world), or sometimes by a current of air induced by the wind blowing through a funnel-shaped pipe fixed in an elevated ravine, open (preferably) to the strong, dry, north-west winds. When the iron was thus reduced to the metallic state the lump was taken out of the furnace and hammered down into a small bloom of wrought iron. A process essentially the same is still pursued in some parts of India and other countries. The iron made in this way is usually of very superior quality, being free from those damaging impurities which get into it in the process of fusion; but the waste of material involved in it is excessive. The Forest of Dean was long celebrated for its manufacture of iron in this way. The sites of many of these old furnaces (or " forgiae errantes," or " itinerantes " as the old records term them) are still indicated by the quantities of half-reduced ore, or " cinders," which strew the surface or lie buried just below

it; though the best portions of them have long ago been carted away to be used again.

Who were the people that first worked the mines? is a question leading far back into the mists of antiquity. Merely to call them "Celts," and without defining the limits of this ubiquitous race, would be to say very little. The earliest inhabitants of Britain are supposed to have been of Uralian or Finnish origin, and some of the old Fins were undoubtedly workers in iron. But this also leaves the question unanswered. On the other hand, ancient chronicles tell us of a barbaric horde which crossed from that part of the Chersonese then called Loghlin (now Denmark), and drove before them the former inhabitants of Britain. They called themselves "Cimbri," but were called by the more lettered Celts the "Tuath de Danan," meaning, according to Sir W. Betham, the "North-men." *Prima facie*, therefore, they were a Scandinavian race, or, as some ethnologists are inclined to think, they may have belonged to a Lithuanic or Slavonic tribe who had migrated to the Chersonese from the north-east. It is said of them that they brought over to Scotland the "Liag Fail," or stone of destiny, on which our Sovereigns are still crowned. That these Cimbri were familiar with the manufacture of iron is more than probable from the fact that the descendants of one portion of the tribe, who in their victorious march towards Rome were eventually exterminated by Marius and Catulus, are described as wearing breastplates of that metal. Those of them who had remained in Britain were subsequently invaded and subdued by Phœnician, or "Milesian" Celts, and were ultimately either expelled or reduced to servitude, being compelled, among other things, to work in the mines.[1]

[1] What may have been the affinity between these earlier settlers in Britain and the so-called "Danes," of whose continual inroads during the Saxon domination we have heard so much, and the so-called "Normans," who came over with William I., and what light it may possibly throw on the by no means hostile attitude of their descendants to these invaders, are questions of more than local interest, and I should much like to see them fully dealt with.—W. H. F.

May it not have been from these Danans, as the original workers in its mines, that the Forest of Dean, or "Foresta de Dana" as it was anciently called, may have derived its name?

The mixed population resulting, in part at least, from the several immigrations above mentioned, constituted the "Britons" subsequently found here by Julius Cæsar, and popularly spoken of as "Celts."

The Romans continued the system of working the mines by slaves, to whom they added convicted criminals, and, in times of persecution, persons convicted of Christianity. During their rule the mines appear to have been carried on without intermission. After their departure, and after the descendants of the former inhabitants had risen against the now Romanised and effeminated Celts and compelled them to invoke the aid of the Saxons, we hear little of the mines until the time of the Plantagenet kings. The miners were then called the "king's miners," and were paid for their sustenance at the rate of a penny per horse load of ore supplied for the king's use. After a time they were allowed to sell any ore not required by the king himself. This, according to the old feudal law, emancipated them. In consequence, as it would appear, of the services rendered by them to Edward III. in undermining and razing the walls of Berwick, and thus enabling that monarch to retake that stronghold from the Scotch, they received from him a Charter of Liberties, embodied in the "Book of Dennys," and were thenceforth termed "free miners." Their rights and privileges—somewhat modified by modern ideas and customs—are now regulated and confirmed by Acts of Parliament.

GRANT BY SIR JOHN BENET OF DOYLY IN THE COUNTY OF MIDDLESEX, KNIGHT OF THE BATH TO THE MASTER FELLOWS AND SCHOLARS OF PEMBROKE COLLEGE IN THE UNIVERSITY OF OXFORD, MADE THE 10TH NOVEMBER IN THE EIGHT AND TWENTIETH YEAR (1676) OF THE REIGN OF OUR SOVEREIGN LORD CHARLES II.

By F. Were.

In the *Derbyshire Archæological Journal* for 1907, vol. xxix., pp. 66–76, this grant is printed *in extenso*. It principally concerns places in Derbyshire, but at the end come several places in Bristol and Gloucestershire, which ought to be recorded, I think, in our *Transactions*, as I cannot find these grants to Pembroke College mentioned in the histories. G.E.C. says of Sir John Bennet, son and heir of Sir John Bennet, of Dawley in Harlington or Arlington, co. Middlesex, and Dorothy, daughter of Sir John Crofts, co. Suffolk, that he was born 1618, and matriculated at Pembroke College on the 24th of April, 1635, aged seventeen, as a gentleman commoner; he was made a K.B. in 1661 at the coronation of Charles II., he served as M.P. for Wallingford 1663–79, and was created in 1682 Baron Ossulston of Ossulston, Middlesex. Sir John Bennet purchased these rents from the Crown only three years previous to this grant, and most of them have been redeemed in recent years at various times by the freeholders.

Newnham Aure and Poulton, £4.

"Also that annual rent of four pounds of like lawful money reserved and issuing out of or for all those the Manors of *Newnham Aure and Pulton* with the appurtenances in the County of Gloucester."

I suppose this manor is called Newnham Aure from its stretching into Newnham Parish, as there appears to be no other Aure in the kingdom; whilst Rudder, p. 247, says, "Lands formerly belonging to Flaxley Abbey were granted to Sir Anthony Kingston, by the name of the Manor of Newnham, Aure, and Poulton." Perhaps the punctuation is wrong. Poulton with its Court, which both Rudder and Bigland say is a "reputed Manor and House," seems to be by this grant a real manor.

ST. JOHN'S HOSPITAL, BRISTOL, £3 1s.

"Also the annual rent or tenth of Three Pounds one shilling of like lawful money reserved and issuing out of or for the scite and precinct of the late *Hospital of Saint John the Baptist in the City of Bristol* and also for divers Manors Rectories Lands tenements & hereditaments to the aforesaid late Hospital in the said County of Gloucester."

This hospital, according to the *Little Red Book of Bristol*, was founded by John Farceyn, alias Farcey, towards the end of the twelfth century, as Barrett, pp. 594-5, says: "1542. Richard Bromefield surrendered this House to Henry VIIIth's Commissioners after above 364 years possession by the friers;" but on the first page he says the hospital consisted of brothers and sisters of the Order of St. Augustine, so possibly it may have been founded earlier. At the Dissolution it was granted to Dr. G. Owen, and valued at £5 3s. 0½d. Its chapel was at the west end of St. Mary Redcliffe's Churchyard, but the site was on the other side of the street, stretching from Redcliffe Pit to the Avon, and it is only recognised now by a lane named St. John's, or Jones' Lane.

LYMINGTON, £3 17s. 4d.

"Also the annual rent or fee farm of Three Pounds seventeen shillings & four pence of like lawful money reserved and issuing out of or for the Manor of *Lymington* alias Lemington in the said County of Gloucester."

The manor seems to have belonged to Tewkesbury Abbey, but after the Dissolution it was granted to Ambrose Smith, whose heirs transferred it to Dr. W. Juxon, Archbishop of Canterbury, in whose family it seems to have been at the date of the grant; so I imagine this fee farm was a part retained by the Crown at the Dissolution.

BERKELEY CHANTRY, £2 18s. 6d.

"Also all that annual rent or fee farm of Two Pounds eighteen shillings and sixpence of like lawful money reserved & issuing out of or for certain lands perteyneing to the Chantrey of the blessed Virgin Mary in *Berkeley* in the said County of Gloucester."

Bigland, p. 152: "In this Church also Thomas Lord Berkeley temp. Edward III. founded another Chantry, which was called St. Mary's or Our Lady's Chantry, endowing the same with divers Lands and Tenements, out of which George Lord Berkeley that nowe is, receiveth of the King's Receiver a Chief Rent of 14s. 10d. likewise his Ancestors ever did since the foundinge thereof, though the Lands bee long since sold away by the Crowne."

This George Lord Berkeley would be the father of another George, afterwards Earl, at the time of the grant; so the last sentence of the Lands being sold away by the Crown looks as if the Crown retained some portion in 1673, from whom Sir John Benet was able to purchase, and regrant in 1676.

PERTON, £1 6s. 3½d.

"Also all that annual Rent of Twenty six shillings & three pence halfpenny of like lawful money issuing & payable out of or for the Manor of *Perton* with all its rights members and appurtenances in the said County of Gloucester."

There are so many Partons, Pirtons, Purtons, &c., in co. Gloucester that I could not decide which was the right one; but through the kindness of Bishop Mitchinson and the Bursar of Pembroke College, it has been identified by the latter as

Parton or Pirton in Churchdown. But here again we are met with an unexpected difficulty. It appears that there are two places adjoining, which Mr. Swift in his history of Churchdown, pp. 22–3, says are quite distinct. Piriton or Pirton belonged to the Berkeleys, and afterwards to the Priory of St. Oswald, Gloucester, and thence passed through several families. Partone, which Atkyns says is Paston, belonged in the reign of Edward III. to Robert de Paston or Parton, but is not brought down further. As these rents are stated to have been purchased from the Crown, it seems most probable that Parton, not Pirton, is the place intended.

DRYFIELD, £2 18s. 3d.

"And also all that annual rent of Two Pounds eighteen shillings & three pence of like lawful money of England issuing and payable out of & for the Manor of *Dryfield* in the said County of Gloucester aforesaid now or late paid by George Hanger Esqr."

This George Hanger, Esqr., is identified by the monument in Driffield Church, who departed this life the 30th of May, Anno Dom. 1688, in the 74th year of his age, whose ancestor (Bigland, p. 497), John D'Aungier or Hanger, a merchant in London in the reign of Charles I., purchased the manorial estate extending over the whole parish.

The whole value of the rents given to the College was £62 6s. 1½d., a sum which agrees well with the belief mentioned in the following letter from our late President, the Master of the College :—

PEMBROKE COLLEGE,
OXFORD, *May 3rd*, 1907.

DEAR MR. TAYLOR,

In my undergraduate days Sir John Benet, Lord Ossulstone, was duly named in the bidding prayer at St. Mary's when a Pembroke man preached as one of our benefactors, and we still commemorate him in Chapel on our annual Commemoration or Gaudy. We have his portrait too in hall.

But we seem now to have tacitly ignored him, I suppose because his benefaction was so small.

In my boyhood here it was believed by us lads that his two fellowships were £20 each, and his two scholarships £10 each. The fellowships were held by the two College tutors (they were the only "open" or unrestricted ones in the College), who made out with tuition fees.

Truly yours,

J. MITCHINSON.

Notices of Publications.

THE VICTORIA HISTORY OF THE COUNTIES OF ENGLAND—SOMERSET. London: Archibald Constable & Co. Volume I.

This volume consists of twenty-five pages of introduction and 537 pages of text, of which some 160 pages are occupied with an account of the Natural History of the County, leaving some 370 pages which deal more directly with the subjects concerned with the work of our Society. Of the Natural History Sections, that on *Lepidoptera* is interesting to us because it is the work of Mr. E. A. Hudd, a member of our Council. The article on Geology also concerns us, because on the physical structure of the country depends its suitability for habitation, and the distribution of its hills and moors determined the course of the history of the races which have in turn inhabited it. Somerset is a most interesting county to the geologist, not only because it presents an almost complete series of formations from the Upper Silurian to the Chalk, but also because it was in the district south of Bath that William Smith gathered much of his practical knowledge of the lie of the strata, which stood him in good stead when he was afterwards engaged in making his earliest geological map of England. The Geological Section, which is accompanied by two good maps, gives a very full and clear account of the structure of the county, though perhaps more guidance might have been expected with regard to the least unlikely spots where coal might be looked for west of Mendip. It may be said, however, that owing to the fact that the mountain limestone lies in a series of ridges, the axes of which run nearly east and west, it is not likely that coal would be found in quantities which would pay for working to the north of a line running through Wells. Very little information is given concerning igneous rocks; only volcanic ashes and lava, and the acidic andesites and felsites are mentioned in the list of stratified and igneous rocks, but basalt is certainly found in Mendip. With regard to palæontology, Somerset has afforded the earliest known evidence in the British Isles of the existence of mammals. The evidence consists of certain teeth found in the Rhœtic strata near Frome and at Watchet, which would seem to have belonged to a small

marsupial. The limestone caves of Somerset are famous on account of the number and variety of the remains of tertiary mammalia which have been found in them.

The articles which especially concern the work of our Society are these: "Early Man," by W. Boyd-Dawkins; "Romano-British Somerset," by Professor Haverfield; "Anglo-Saxon Remains," by R. A. Smith; "Introduction to the Somerset Domesday," by J. H. Round; and "Text of the Somerset Exchequer Domesday and Geld Inquest," by the Rev. E. H. Bates. It may be truly said that in these articles a foundation has been laid broad and deep for the much-needed history of Somerset. We do not despise the work of those who have gone before. What Collinson would have made of his book if he had lived out the threescore years and ten of the life of man we cannot tell. As it was, he lived for little more than half that period; he published his proposals for his work when he was twenty-four years of age, and completed his task in ten years. Under the circumstances neither completeness nor perfect accuracy can be looked for, but at any rate no one has done anything better in the century which has elapsed since his death. Mr. Humphrey's *Somersetshire Parishes* is a storehouse of references, and that with the publications of the County Archæological and Record Societies and such works as those of Rutter and Phelps about complete the tale of sources available at present.

Nearly half a century has elapsed since Mr. Boyd-Dawkins began to work at Wookey Hole, and in his article on "Early Man" he has given the fruits of long experience and wide knowledge brought to bear upon complete acquaintance with local conditions. The result is a most admirable summary of what is known of the first coming of man into the district, and of the progress of civilisation so far as it can be traced. The river-drift men came first; they were hunters poorly equipped for the chase, possessing only rough-chipped implements of flint or chert. They were followed by the cave-men, to whom the weapons found at Wookey Hole belonged; their implements were much better finished than those of their brethren of the river-drift, and altogether they seem to have reached a much higher stage of civilisation. A complete table, arranged according to localities, is given of the animals whose remains have been found in Somerset caverns, divided into those which are now found in temperate, hot, and cold climates, together with those which are now extinct. Eventually the cave-men retreated to the north with the animals characteristic of cold climates, and are very possibly now represented by the Eskimo, while the river-drift men passed to the south with the lion and the leopard, and seem to be now quite extinct. The forts and barrows, temples and trackways of Somerset are equally well

described, and the section is illustrated by an excellent map of the localities in which prehistoric remains have been found.

Professor Haverfield takes up the story in his article on "Romano-British Somerset," and the county is especially fortunate in the fact that he, like Professor Boyd-Dawkins, has known it and been interested in it for many years. Few counties afford materials for more complete history of man as far as the end of the Roman occupation, and the men of ancient Somerset are happy in their historians. Of the 165 pages covered by the article, no fewer than seventy are occupied by an account of Roman Bath; and bearing in mind that the Roman was before all things else a citizen, the proportion is not at all too large. Yet Roman Bath was not a *colonia*, nor a fortress, nor a centre where roads met; it was simply what it is now, a resort for health and pleasure, whither people gathered not only from all parts of Britain, but even from Gaul. The place was occupied very early, and it retained its importance till the Romans left the island. It is interesting to find that the Professor considers that Bath is "The Ruin" of the old English poem.[1] Except the ruins of the Baths and fragments gathered from various portions of the city, Roman Bath has utterly perished, even the lines of the streets and the sites of the gates are unknown. An excellent account is given of the excavation of the baths, and of coins and inscriptions which have been discovered. Among the inscriptions is a very curious curse in words written backwards on a leaden plate. Another tablet of lead found at the same time with the curse is marked with scratches which the Bodleian librarian interpreted as a letter from *Vinisius* to *Nigra*. Professor Haverfield does not so interpret it. But it would have been better if he had given the librarian's reading, especially because, if it is correct, it contains almost the only possible reference to Christianity which has yet been found at Bath. With regard to the rest of the county, there is an excellent map showing the localities where Roman remains have been found, and an exhaustive account of the remains which have been found at each place. When, however, the Professor says that there is no reason to put *Iscalis* at Uphill as some do, it is likely that these folk will hold to their opinion, for Ptolemy's differences of latitude and longitude between Bath and *Iscalis* place the latter station on the Somerset coast seven miles south of Uphill, and *Iscalis* would be a natural name for a station at the mouth of the Axe.

The article on "Anglo-Saxon Remains" is rather slight, and it was scarcely needful to provide a map to show the position of the five places in which Anglo-Saxon remains have been found. The article on "Domesday Survey" is also somewhat disappointing. It covers some fifty

[1] *Transactions*, xx. 277.

pages, and is mainly occupied with three subjects—the delinquencies of Mr. Eyton, the five-hide unit of Mr. Round, and an account of the distribution of the lands of the county. The article would have been all the better for the omission of the two former subjects. In 1895 Mr. Round stated in his *Feudal England* a new theory, that the geld assessment of Domesday was not regulated by area or value, but was of an arbitrary character, being so arranged as to apportion among the vills of a hundred its total assessment in blocks of five or ten hides. He was led to this conclusion by observing the extraordinary number of vills assessed at five hides or some multiple of five hides. It seems that in Somerset five-hide groups account for 1290 out of the 2321 hides of the county. Now every careful student of Domesday must be aware of the very deceptive flexibility of the Domesday numbers. There are blocks of units large and small, and there is an abundance of small broken numbers, so that almost any theory could be supported by one equipped with ingenuity and dominated by a pre-conceived theory. Moreover, the number of five-hide units in Somerset is in no way extraordinary. There lies before the writer a subscription list of the present year, containing 245 donations, of the value of £14,610; and no fewer than 184 of these items are multiples of five stated either in guineas or pounds. The "five" unit here is fully two-thirds of the whole, as against the half of the Somerset hidage; indeed, if the value of the gifts rather than their number was regarded, the amount expressed in gifts other than "fives" would be insignificant. The truth is that man is a pentadactylic animal, provided with a "bunch o' fives," and he thinks accordingly. But more than this, the geld system does not go back beyond the reign of Ethelred the Unready, but many of the five-hide units were in existence long before that time. The condition of things set forth in Domesday had a previous growth and history, which must be taken into account. For instance, Banwell, with Compton Bishop, is rated at thirty hides in Domesday, and might be quoted in favour of the five-hide theory. But in fact a charter of 904 represents Compton as an estate of ten, and Banwell as one of twenty, *manentes*,[1] while a charter of King Eadgar describes Banwell as an estate of thirty *mansas*[2]: finally, the estate which the Conqueror granted to Wells Cathedral in 1068, and which included both Banwell and Compton Bishop, was one of thirty hides. Here the fivefold division of the estate dates back for a century before the beginning of danegeld. It would be an absurdity to adduce Banwell in support of the five-hide theory, and what is true of Banwell is true of very many more fivefold estates in Somerset. For example, Mr. Round gives Corston, rated at ten hides, in proof of the

[1] K., *C. D.*, MLXXXIV.; *C. S.*, 612. [2] K., *C. D.*, DC.; *C. S.*, 1149.

correctness of his theory; but Corston appears as an estate *denis æstimatam mansiunculis* in 972, long before the exaction of danegeld.[1]

Mr. Round says that Gloucestershire is a county in which the prevalence of the five-hide unit is very marked. It would seem that no one has yet undertaken the Gloucestershire Domesday for the *Victoria History*; but the one to whose lot the task may fall will find himself confronted by a group of five-hide units in original documents, and in Worcester, Pershore and Bath charters, which date from much earlier times than the reign of Ethelred the Unready. The statement of the Rev. T. W. Whale, "that as regards Somerset the five-hide unit is a myth,"[2] is abundantly true; it is equally true of Gloucestershire, and it is unfortunate that so much of the space of the *Victoria History* of Somerset should have been occupied with this five-hide theory.

The tone of the criticism applied to Mr. Eyton is distinctly unfortunate. When you are standing on a man's shoulders you are in an excellent position to kick him on the head, but it is not a generous thing to do, and Mr. Round's article is deeply indebted to Mr. Eyton's book. The book itself is not faultless. It is written in a hard and somewhat assertive style. The author was a Shropshire rector writing far from Somerset, and his local knowledge was not always adequate; the numerical tables must be used with caution; there are some errors, and some figures are repeated. But, putting all this at its worst, there was nothing like it before the book was published, and it would not be straining the force of words to say that the last quarter of a century has not produced anything equal to it in illuminating power so far as the Domesday of Somerset is concerned. In particular, the present writer is convinced that the principles of areal measurement are correct, and produce accurate results if they are rightly applied. But, of course, as the Inquest was one into values and not into areas, too high a standard of exactness of areas must not be looked for. The total area is obtained by adding together the areas of arable meadow wood and pasture, in the same way as the area under the tithe agreement of Banwell was obtained, by adding together the areas of arable pasture and wood, together with certain areas which were tithe-free. The Banwell tithe agreement shows an estimated area of 4,829 acres, against 4,974 acres given by the Ordnance Survey, a deficiency of about three per cent. Mr. Eyton's estimate of the area of the estates of ancient demesne in Somerset is 108,741 acres, against 110,756 acres of modern ascertainment, a deficiency of two per cent, in an area extending over more than one-tenth of the county. In 1903 the present writer worked out, in a paper written for the Northern Branch of the Somerset Archæological

[1] K., *C. D.*, DLXXIII.; *C. S.*, 1287. [2] *Principles of the Somerset Domesday*, p. 2.

Society, the Domesday area of a district lying between the Avon and Severn, the road from Bristol to Cross, and the Yeo and the Clevedon Branch Railway. The result gave 53,389 acres registered in Domesday, as against 52,596 acres of modern ascertainment, an excess of about one per cent. In each case Mr. Eyton's principles of measurement applied over these large areas gave a result which was relatively more accurate than the estimate of the area of Banwell made in 1837 by men possessed of full local knowledge. The methods will not generally give such accurate results for single manors, or for small areas, partly because there may be an error of as much as fifty acres in the estimate of arable land, partly because detached portions of the estates dealt with may lie at a distance, outside the area which is considered, and partly because the boundaries of the Domesday estates may not coincide with the boundaries of the relative modern parishes. Altogether, Mr. Eyton's methods give 871,110 acres as being in some way held under profitable occupation in 1086; in 1896 the Agricultural Returns showed that 926,630 Somerset acres were profitably cropped. The deficiency, six per cent., is not excessive, and it must be remembered that Domesday only professes to mention land which was in some way a source of profit.

The remainder of Mr. Round's article is a very valuable contribution to the knowledge of the Domesday of Somerset, and all those who are interested in the matter will be grateful to him for it.

The Rev. E. Bates has contributed to the volume a map showing the position of estates mentioned in Domesday; a translation of the Exchequer Domesday, with modern names and identifications of the estates, and with various insertions from the Exeter Domesday; and a translation of the Geld Inquest of 1084. The map is very well and clearly printed, and it marks the properties belonging to the king, to various ecclesiastical owners, and to the Count of Mortain. The estates of the Bishop of Coutances might well also have been marked. Lege, for Abbot's Leigh, ought to have been marked as a possession of the king, for it was a member of the royal estate of Bedminster. With regard to Mr. Bates' translation of the Record, it must be remembered that it is a compilation, and therefore cannot be quoted as it stands. The groundwork is a translation of the Exchequer Domesday, with additions from the Exeter book, and identifications by the translator. One is tempted to wonder why the translation was not made directly from the Exeter book. Mr. Bates identifies Contitone, an estate of Earl Eustace, with Compton Bishop, but this is clearly an error, for Compton Bishop is included with Banwell in the grant by the Conqueror to the Church of Wells in 1068.[1]

1 *Proceedings of the Somersetshire Archæological and Natural History Society*, xxiii. 57, 62; xxiv. 118.

The translation of the Geld Inquest will be most helpful to all students of the Somerset Domesday. The task which Mr. Bates undertook must have been a heavy and wearisome one, but he has given to us an excellent piece of work, and one which will be of lasting value.

So far as paper, printing and illustrations are concerned, the volume leaves nothing to be desired; but the humble subscriber for a cloth copy might wish that the binding were somewhat stronger.

THE ENGLISH CHURCH from the Accession of George I. to the End of the Eighteenth Century. By the late Rev. Canon JOHN H. OVERTON, D.D., and the Rev. FREDERIC RELTON, A.K.C. London: MACMILLAN & Co., 1906.

As it is true that the part of the History of the English Church which is most misunderstood is the history of the English Reformation, so it is probably true that the part which is least known generally is the history of that Church during the eighteenth century. Indeed, it is likely enough that a very common view is this:—that the Church during that period had no history, any more than a man has a history when he is asleep at night. As contradicting this idea the present book will be most helpful. The task of writing an account of the period was committed at first to the one who of all others was best fitted to perform it—Canon Overton, Rector of Epworth—but unhappily he died before he had completed the work. The general arrangement of the book, however, and more than half the matter contained in it are his; but his work has been revised, and re-arranged and amplified, though Mr. Relton tells us that he has "not willingly parted with a line—scarcely a word—of what he had written." And no doubt, in dealing with the work of so complete a master of the subject, this was the best course to adopt. Equally, of course, it was a method which was fatal to clearness of arrangement, neatness of style, and vigour of expression. Especially with regard to chapters vii., viii. and ix., there is a good deal of repetition, and the tone of the book generally is somewhat flat and colourless, a condition of things for which, however, Mr. Relton cannot be fairly blamed. The history is divided into four periods: 1714–38, marked by the Deistic controversies; 1730–60, the time of the Methodist Revival under the Wesleys and Whitefield; 1760–89, during which time the new life began to swell and grow; and finally, 1789—1800, during which time the force of the Evangelical

Revival was a very marked power in the Church of England. It is interesting to note that our district was the cradle of the Methodist Revival. The Welsh Calvinistic Methodist Chapel in Broadmead, Bristol, is the oldest Methodist preaching house in the world, and externally, at any rate, it stands as John Wesley built it, except that it presents a somewhat neglected and woe-begone appearance. The Methodist class-meetings and ticket system originated in Bristol, and it was in the Broadmead preaching house that John Wesley appointed Dr. Coke to be Bishop in America on September 2nd, 1784, two months before Bishop Seabury was consecrated to the Diocese of Connecticut by the Scottish Bishops at Aberdeen. George Whitefield was descended from Rectors of Rockhampton, and was ordained in Gloucester Cathedral, while it was in Kingswood, to the East of Bristol, that John Wesley and Whitefield began their open-air preaching early in 1739.

The English Church entered on the eighteenth century in a sadly maimed and truncated condition. In 1662 many ministers of Puritan opinions renounced her communion, rather than come under the provisions of the Act of Uniformity. The exact number of these Nonconformists is uncertain, but many of them were men of learning and piety, and as they all belonged to one school of thought, their departure left those Puritan feelings and sympathies, which continued to have considerable influence among the lay people. insufficiently represented among the clergy. Their departure was followed in 1691 by the secession of the Non-jurors, who refused to swear allegiance to William III. They were comparatively few in number, but they were men who were conspicuous for learning and piety, and their departure marked quite as serious a loss to the Church as did that of the Nonconformists a generation before. To put the matter in a modern form, the Low Churchmen were weakened by the loss of the Nonconformists, the High Churchmen were weakened by the secession of the Non-jurors; and as the generation of learned divines of the Restoration period died away, the tone of the great middle party which was left came to be rather that of looseness of thought than liberality of view, and few people are more illiberal than the loose thinker. And so it came to pass that the first twenty years of the period were marked by sharp controversy. Whiggism in political life passed into Latitudinarianism in theology, and that naturally degraded into Unitarianism. And this was so among Nonconformists at least as much as among Churchmen. Many of the older Unitarian Chapels were, like Lewin's Mead Chapel at Bristol, originally homes of Trinitarian Nonconformity. It was not a happy time; the lines applied to the time of Izaak Walton

apply with at least equal truth to the early days of the house of Hanover:

> "A fouler vision yet; an age of light,
> Light without love glares on the aching sight." [1]

In this controversy Churchman and Non-juror stood side by side, and more than held their own. The Bangorian and Deistic controversies are things of the past, but the forms of thought which found expression then are alive to-day, and much that Bishop Butler and Waterland and William Law wrote still possesses a high value, and may very probably possess a still higher value in the near future.

But there were sparks among the stubble, even of the reigns of the two first Georges, and after a while they glowed into life, and ran to and fro, and kindled a flame in the dry mass. There must have been many homes such as Epworth Vicarage in the early part of the eighteenth century, as there were many like the home of the Kebles at Fairford a century later, and the true life of the Church was preserved from age to age in such homes as those:

> "Sprinkled along the waste of years
> Full many a soft green isle appears:
> Pause where we may upon the desert road,
> Some shelter is in sight, some sacred, blest abode." [2]

And it was this hidden life of the Church of England which formed the motive power of the Methodist movement, as the societies or guilds—as they would probably now be called—which formed so prominent a feature in the Church life of the reign of Queen Anne, determined the outward form taken by the movement. With regard to the relation of the movement to the Church of England, it must be remembered that though the Wesleys were sound Churchmen in doctrine and principles to the very end, so that the clergy of the Church of England are to this day the only ministers who are qualified to serve in a Wesleyan place of worship for more than three years, yet their methods were distinctly contrary to Church order. They gathered not with the Church, and therefore it was that they scattered. Moreover, from the beginning many of the members of the societies were Nonconformists who, though they would willingly submit to the discipline of an organisation which they found helpful to themselves, would not on that account join the Church of England. The societies were from the beginning something separate and apart from Church order. As early as May 12th, 1739, when John Wesley laid the foundation stone of the Broadmead preaching house in the parish of St. James, Bristol, he had

[1] *Christian Year*, Advent Sunday. [2] *Ibid.*

taken his position as a law unto himself. The question whether in that matter, and in others, the circumstances of the time gave just cause for what he did, is one to which more than a single answer might be returned. With regard to the attitude of the bishops and clergy towards the Methodists, the ministers of the Church have often been very unjustly blamed. Readers of Wesley's journal will find many more cases where he was opposed by the lay people than by the clergy, and he was certainly not hindered by the bishops. It is not likely that any succeeding generation of bishops and clergy would have done better; certainly a generation which has persistently misunderstood and harassed the Ritualists may throw no stones.

The method of the book is mainly biographical, and the biographies are the stories of the lives of great men. There were giants in those days, not only intellectually, though with regard to sheer intellectual force any generation of eighteenth-century bishops would hold their own with any of their successors, and the clergy as a whole held a far more commanding position with regard to human knowledge than they hold now. No doubt it is well that great weight should be laid on the pastoral work of the clergy, but "the priest's lips should keep knowledge," and the Church is suffering from the want of learning among the clergy, and is likely to suffer still more in the future. There were those who were endowed with a perfect genius for saintliness, such as Bishop Benson and William Law, Lady Huntingdon and Hannah More. No idea is further from the truth than that the religion of the eighteenth century was marked by slovenliness or want of care. Every ancient church in Bristol was well cared for at that time. Some, like Christ Church and St. Nicholas, were entirely rebuilt; some, like St. Michael's and St. Thomas the Martyr, were rebuilt except their towers; all were carefully repaired, and the work which was put into them was work which will last. There is no sadder part of the story of the "restorations" of the last half century than that which records the wasteful destruction of the eighteenth-century woodwork. Where it was kept—as in the case of the oak seats at St. Thomas the Martyr, set up originally in 1755—it may be trusted to be well-nigh as good as it is now, when much of the deal and foreign oak of the last half century has found its way to the rubbish heap. The eighteenth century was an age of great men in the Church as well as in the State, and the book has at any rate the merit of bringing out the salient points in their characters in such a way as to leave an impression of each one which will fix its mark upon the memory.

No doubt the life was to a great extent a hidden life, and the century was a period of gestation, whose offspring came to the birth in after

years. The Evangelical movement, it is true, came into being before the end of the century, but its complement, the Tractarian movement, was no less an inheritor of eighteenth-century life. When Keble preached his Assize Sermon, and the *Tracts for the Times* were issued, the followers, who gathered round the leaders like armed men springing from the ground, needed no conversion, for they recognised in the teaching of the Tractarians the truths which their parents had learned in the eighteenth century, and had handed on to their children. Later on the looseness of thought and carelessness of expression, which manifested itself in an impatience of the use of ancient formularies, was but a revival of the feeling which Waterland had met and crushed a century before. No one will understand the history of the Church of England in the nineteenth century till he has mastered her history in the century before. And it may very well be that the history of the eighteenth century holds the key of the future. Two centuries ago the Carbline divines, a body of wise and learned leaders, had passed away, and though their influence remained for the time, their successors were not equal to them. The bishops were separating themselves from the clergy, and were shrinking up into a caste, thereby possibly increasing their power, but certainly losing their influence. A considerable number of the clergy began to sit very loosely to the teaching of the Church, and to become impatient of ancient forms of faith, with the result that a period of bitter controversy set in that occupied the thoughts and consumed the energies which might have been devoted to better things. In all such times he will be best fitted to meet the difficulties which may arise who best understands the spirit and methods of the great divines of the eighteenth century. Only the one who would wield their weapons will need their strength.

It is often thought that the eighteenth century was a period when Nonconformity was an active and a growing force, though the Church stood still. But this was not the case, unless the Methodist societies are regarded as being Nonconformist bodies, a condition which did not exist—in name at least—during the life of John Wesley. The tone of the older Nonconformity was the same with that of the Church, and very few new Nonconformist places of worship were built. When, however, the Methodist societies broke loose from the Church, the older Nonconformist bodies caught the spirit of their vigour, and for the first thirty years of the nineteenth century Nonconformity grew very rapidly, while the Church hardly grew at all.

The volume is one of the series which Messrs. Macmillan are publishing on the history of the English Church, and though the volumes by Dr. Gairdner and Mr. Frere on the English Reformation may prove

to be more generally interesting, there is not a volume in the series which will more fully repay careful study than this history of the Church during the eighteenth century. There is a full list of authorities at the end of each chapter, and the book is furnished with a good index.

THE VICTORIA HISTORY OF THE COUNTIES OF ENGLAND—GLOUCESTERSHIRE. London: ARCHIBALD CONSTABLE & Co. 1907. Volume II.

VOLUME II. has appeared before Volume I., and the reason of this inverted order is apparent in the Provisional Prospectus, issued in June, 1907. Of the subjects dealt with in Volume I. of the Somerset work, and which, therefore, might be expected to form part of the first volume for Gloucestershire, no writer is named for "Early Man," "Ancient Earthworks," "Introduction to Domesday Book," and "Translation of the Domesday Text." For the second of these subjects a name will occur to everyone who is familiar with the archæological literature of the shire as being that of a writer who would have been qualified, before all others, to give an account of the Ancient Earthworks of Gloucestershire, while for two of the other subjects an offer to take them was made by one whose work on those subjects is repeatedly quoted in the volume without a word of correction, and the offer was refused by the Editor of the History. It is worth noting that the only members of the County Archæological Society whose names appear among the contributors write on different branches of the Animal Kingdom—a tribute, at least, to the variety of their attainments.

The articles which more especially concern the work of our Society are those on "Ecclesiastical History" and "Religious Houses," while, of course, the articles on "Social and Economic History," "Industries, Arts, and Manufactures," "Agriculture," "Forestry," and "Ancient and Modern Sport," have relation to our work in the earlier portions of the periods which are dealt with. The article on "Ecclesiastical History" extends over forty-eight pages, and gives a good general account of the subject with which it deals. The mischief wrought by the system of appropriations is very well brought out, though the writer shows that she possesses the charity which believeth all things when she tells us that the advowsons were granted to religious houses with the laudable intention of putting patronage into the hands of those who might use it better than laymen, the truth being that any excuse was good enough to justify the religious in attempting to

impoverish the parish churches. If a convent overbuilt itself, if its members preferred to spend money on themselves to bestowing it in hospitality, if an aged or incompetent abbot let his house drift into debt, if an ambitious or extravagant head wasted its goods, if there were any kind of general muddle, it was a signal for an appeal to the bishop to remedy the mischief by transferring the revenues of parish churches in the patronage of the religious house from the secular to the religious clergy. With regard to what is said concerning Bristol on page 14, by ancient right the burgesses could not be summoned to answer without the walls in any cause with regard to which justice could be had within the borough. So offenders against Ecclesiastical Law were handed over to the Dean of Christianity, as representing the Bishop of Worcester, north of Avon, and to the Dean of Redcliff, as representing the Bishop of Bath and Wells, south of the river. The spread of Lollardism in Gloucestershire is dealt with, but no special reasons are given for the influence of Wycliffe's opinions in this district. It is curious that on pages 25 and 109 it is implied that not all religious houses of a less value than £200 a year came under the Act of 1536; but the words of the Act were very wide, and there can be no doubt that it embraced all such houses, though the friars were not troubled immediately. A map is given showing the Deaneries of Gloucestershire in 1536. The list of Parishes in the Deaneries of the Diocese of Gloucester is already out of date, as the present Bishop has recently re-arranged them, and the Bristol list should have been revised by someone possessing local knowledge. The article on the "Religious Houses of Gloucestershire" is a very careful compilation provided with an abundance of references. It should have been noted with regard to St. Oswald's at Gloucester, that it had been given by Cnut to Duduc, Bishop of Wells, and that it was on Duduc's death that it passed into the possession of Archbishop Stigand. Both with regard to St. Peter's Minster, and with regard to the Grey Friars at Gloucester, it is noted that the mortality from the Black Death cannot have been great; and as it seems clear that no great interruption of building occurred at St. Peter's, it is possible that Gloucester was less affected by the pestilence than some other parts of the country. It is said on page 118 that St. Bartholomew's Hospital at Bristol was granted in 1531 to found a Grammar School at Westbury-on-Trym; the School was, of course, the Bristol Grammar School, but it was to be organised under the direction of John Barlowe, Dean of Westbury-on-Trym, among others.

With regard to the article on "Social and Economic History," the reckoning of villeins with serfs among the unfree at the date of Domesday

(p. 128) is a reading of a later condition of things into the pages of the great record. So far as his person was concerned, the villein was as free as the lord; and so really he was with regard to his holding, for while he could not leave the land, the lord could not turn him out so long as he rendered the services which were due. It seems to be considered (on p. 129) that villeinage in the thirteenth century was the same thing with villeinage in the eleventh, but really it was a very different thing, and the thirteenth century villein was far less free than his eleventh-century ancestor. The writer seems rather to exaggerate the power of the lord in the manor court; the court was quite capable of holding him in check if he transgressed the customs. There is an unfortunate mistake on p. 151, where it is said that Bristol had no charter till the reign of John. Henry II. granted a charter of freedom from toll to the burgesses, which must have been given in 1155, because it is signed by Roger, Earl of Hereford, who died before the end of the year, and John's charter was granted not when he was king, but as prince, in his capacity of lord of Bristol, a position which he held in right of his wife. There is a good account of the development of the cloth trade in the shire. The fleece of wool appears at Cirencester in Domesday as a source of profit to the Queen, and in the twelfth century the names "Fuller, Dyer and Weaver" are found at Gloucester and Cirencester. But it does not seem to have been before 1300 that the trade became one of chief importance, and then very possibly on account of the immigration of Flemings, as it was again strengthened by the immigration of the Huguenots in the sixteenth century. The name "Fleming" occurs in 1328 at Guiting, but that is not likely to have been the first place of settlement for the aliens. In the early years of Queen Elizabeth, the cloth trade of Bristol was much decayed, and the Vestry of St. Thomas the Martyr—which parish, as the names "Tucker Street" and "Long Row" (anciently *lange-rewe*) show, was one of the centres of the cloth trade—obtained the grant of a cattle-market to mitigate their poverty. On p. 160 "Beverley" is wrongly written for "Berkeley." The article closes with a good sketch of the history of the administration of the Poor Law from the time when poverty first became a pressing problem in consequence of enclosures and the disturbance of the social system in the reigns of Henry VIII. and Edward VI. A short table of wages at the end of the article shows that the daily wage of carpenters rose from 4d. in 1302 to 3s. 9d. to 8s. in 1906, of tilers from 4d. to 4s. to 6s. 8d., of agricultural labourers from ½d. in 1266 to 2s. 2d. in 1898. Contrary to what might have been expected, the Black Death did not raise the wages of the two skilled classes of workmen, for in 1412 for carpenters, and in 1397 for tilers, the rate was still 4d.; but between 1266 and 1412 the rate for ordinary labourers had

risen from ½d. to 2d. It is a pity that the price of wheat at the different dates is not given in this table. The writer of the article on "Bell-founding" underrates the skill of the mediæval founders, for the three heaviest bells at St. Mary Redcliff about 1470 each weighed within a few pounds of the three heaviest bells now in the ring at St. Paul's Cathedral, a result which can hardly be accidental.

There is an excellent article on the "Schools of the Shire" by Mr. A. R. Leach, who says that hardly any county in England is better equipped than Gloucestershire with secondary schools; and indeed he seems to imply that Bristol and Gloucester are rather over supplied in that respect, a fault—if so it be—at any rate on the right side. It is shown that both in Bristol and Gloucester schools existed long before the time of the Reformation, and that in Bristol a school which had been held near the Froom Gate was transferred about 1540 to the buildings of St. Bartholomew's Hospital, and is now the Grammar School, which is therefore an older institution than the foundation of the Thornes—how much older no one can say. On page 356 Mr. Leach has tumbled into a curious trap. He quotes the words of an Inquisition held before the Dean of Christianity on May 15th, 1318, with regard to the rights and privileges of the Guild of the Kalendars, which "used to be at the Church of the Holy Trinity, Bristol, in the time of Aylward Mean and Bristoic his son lords of the said town before the last conquest of England." On this Mr. Leach comments thus: "It must be admitted that Bristoic looks remarkably like an eponymous hero evolved out of the name of the town." But Bristol is too modern and business-like a place to indulge in eponymous heroes. Bristoic is simply Brihtric, son of Algar, grandson of Aylward, lord of Tewkesbury in 1066. There is no reason for thinking that Brihtric had anything at all to do with Bristol, and the whole statement is no doubt a fabrication of the Tewkesbury monks, who did not come to Bristol till about 1137, when the Priory of St. James was founded, and the Inquisition of the Dean, at any rate so far, is quite unworthy of credit.

There is an excellent and practical article on "Agriculture," though for the most part it deals with times more modern than those with which we are concerned. It is strange, however, that the author should imply that oxen have so completely passed away. They were certainly not uncommon on Cotswold between 1877 and 1890; and about 1885 the present writer saw a team of eight oxen ploughing in a field near the Seven Wells above Cubberly. This was, however, the only eight-oxen team he ever saw in thirteen years of travelling over Cotswold. Some striking figures are given on page 240, which show the increased productiveness both in stock and crops which arose from enclosure; but while the

system enriched the rich, it impoverished the poor. The article on "Forestry" is full of information. It should be noted, for there seem to be difficulties about the matter, that in the district between Berkeley and Bristol, Cotswold and the sea there were three great woods—Kingswood in the south, with Filwood in Somerset, dependent originally on Bristol; Horwood to the north of it, the hunting-seat of which wood was at Alveston; and a tract of wood to the north, dependent originally on Berkeley, of which portions were known as Kingswood, Michaelwood, and Huntingford Chase.

The volume will be a welcome addition to Gloucestershire books. There is rather a large number of slips in spelling, and revision of the proofs by some one possessing local knowledge would in some of the articles have proved to be helpful.

PARISH LIFE IN MEDIÆVAL ENGLAND. By ABBOT GASQUET. London: METHUEN & Co. 1906.

WE have it on the authority of the poet Burns that it would be an excellent thing for all of us if we could see ourselves as others see us, and it may be a subtle prompting of an instinct of this kind which led Messrs. Methuen to entrust an account of the parish life in mediæval England, which was, of course, under the guidance of the secular clergy, to a member of a religious order. In some ways Abbot Gasquet's book sounds like a voice from ages long ago; and in particular this is so with regard to what he says concerning tithes and the appropriation of tithes to the use of religious houses. Between the Norman Conquest and the Dissolution the constant remedy for any kind of extravagance or mismanagement on the part of the members of a religious house was an application to a bishop to appropriate the revenues of parish churches to the use of the religious house, leaving as small a pittance as possible for the maintenance of the fabric and services of the parish church. It was so much more easy to put one's hand into the pocket of the secular clergy than it was to keep expenditure within bounds or to manage properly. Of course, Abbot Gasquet as a Benedictine is on the comfortable side of the wall with regard to appropriations, and may see no harm in the system; but if he were a secular priest in charge of a parish church whose funds are starved because it was appropriated five centuries ago to the uses of a religious house which has long ceased to exist, it is likely enough that he would think differently. Much of what he says

with regard to the origin and distribution of church property is untrustworthy, and in particular when he tells us "that a portion of the tithe should always be set apart for the relief of the poor, because as Bishop Stubbs has pointed out, in England, from the days of King Ethelred, 'a third part of the tithe' which belonged to the church was the acknowledged birthright of the poorer members of Christ's flock," one would like to see the whole of the passage to which reference is made. No reference is given, and though one would not wish to throw doubt on what so high an authority as Abbot Gasquet might find in so wide a field as the writings of Bishop Stubbs, a little more definiteness would have been helpful.

The book, however, gives a very full and life-like account of the actual working of the parochial system of the mediæval church. There are chapters on the Parish, the Church, its Officers and Services, the Sacraments and the Pulpit, its Finance, Festivals, Amusements and Fraternities. No doubt the system is idealised; one feels that one is in the upper air. Still it is the system as it ought to have been, and there is no difficulty in reading into the story from present-day experience the rubs and faults and difficulties which no doubt were there.

The period in which the story is set is for the most part the century and a half before the Accession of Queen Mary, when people had grown weary of the religious houses, and were spending their wealth and their energy on the building and adornment of the parish churches. Nothing that Abbot Gasquet says goes beyond what must have been the glory and the beauty of the fabrics and furniture of our parish churches four centuries ago. What they are now is to what they were much what a scraped and desiccated skeleton is to the body which clothed it when it was in the full vigour of life and health. With regard to the fabric of the church, the chancel was repaired by the rector, and the nave by the people, who were also responsible for the provision of all requisites for divine service; when, however, we are told that the size of the chancel naturally varied according to the importance of the church, we cannot help remembering how often we have seen a noble nave towering over a puny chancel, and also how often when this is the case the church had been appropriated to some religious house, and though the lay people had made their portion exceeding magnifical, the clerical rectors had done nothing but bare repairs. The book brings out very clearly the way in which the life of the parish centred in the church, and the interest which was taken in everything connected with the fabric and its services, and the general willingness to supply any defects which may have existed. There can be no doubt that the complex organisation of

guilds and fraternities which marked parochial life was an excellent school of the art of self-government, and the fact that everyone had both rights and duties in the community of the parish gave an interest and an energy to parish life which it does not now possess. There can be no doubt also—though Abbot Gasquet does not enforce this truth—that the clean sweep which was made by the governors of Edward VI. of the properties of the guilds and fraternities, and of nearly everything which was beautiful in the furniture of the churches, did more than anything else to kill out interest in village life—the English village has never been either in its secular or religious aspect what it was before that disastrous time. Still we must remember that even in those days all parishes were not energetic, that archdeacons and rural deans existed, and acted and that bishops visited on occasion.

There is a good account of the various classes of clergy connected with the parish churches, and an interesting sketch of the relation between the ages at which the different stages of University degrees might be taken, and those at which the successive steps of Holy Orders might be attained. There are also some instances of provision for sick and aged clergy which are worth notice in an age when men who have done excellent work seem likely to be treated with something less than scant consideration. The sources of parochial income seem to have been many and various, such as charges for burials in the nave, the letting out of bride-gear, and the use of crucifixes at burials, pew rents, and the sale of gifts to the church. Country wardens may be interested to know that there were difficulties over seats as far back as 1287, when the Bishop of Exeter, with sound common sense, ordered : " Whoever first comes to church to pray, let him take what place he wishes in which to pray." Alms boxes to receive gifts for church expenses were disapproved of, for some taught that " it was a better alms deed to put money into the common box than to give it to the parson," a doctrine which the parish priest could not be expected to endorse. There is a curious instance in which the wardens of Yatton, in Somerset, about 1520, sold a piece of silver church plate, which had been bought some years before with the alms of the faithful, to provide means for repairing the sluices to prevent the Yeo from flooding the fields ; one wonders whether they obtained a faculty for the sale, and if not who is now responsible for replacing the plate. The wardens of Bury St. Edmunds, in 1463, seem to have possessed a grind-organ, which played the Introit of the Burial Mass, and in that year it ground around the town for thirty days in memory of John Baret ; truly there is nothing new under the sun. Abbot Gasquet tells us that " one of the great differences between ecclesiastical life in the Middle Ages and modern times lay in the fact

that then people had no chance "of going to sleep." There was a regular system of periodical visitations, and everything was brought to the test of inquiry of a most elaborate and searching kind, in which every corner, so to speak, was swept out." Downside is locally in the diocese of Bath and Wells, but presumably its inmates do not know what goes on around them. In January last a return had to be made by all the clergy with regard to non-residence, quite out of date, but possessing, with the return to be mentioned last, the saving virtue that return postage was prepaid. As the bishop proposed to visit after Easter, there came in Lent a paper of questions addressed to the clergy, and a different set addressed to the wardens. The bishop, unhappily, was prevented from visiting by illness, but he has fixed a date when he hopes to come in the future. However, the chancellor visited, accompanied by the registrar, and charged the churchwardens, with special reference to the payment of fees. Soon after Easter the rural dean officially visited the parish, and finally there appeared an *Official Parochial Return*, containing some ninety questions, *de rebus ecclesiasticis, et quibusdam aliis*, issued at the instance of the Convocations of Canterbury and York, with the sanction of the archbishops and bishops, and directed by the rural dean. All this in less than six months, and the archdeacon visited last year. It is doubtful whether any mediæval bishop in his most inquisitorial moments ever attained unto such a system as this; and if catholicity is to be measured by periodical visitations, then surely the English secular clergy of the present day are a most catholic order.

There are some good illustrations, including a series of the ministration of the seven sacraments. It is to be noted, with regard to baptism, that though the font is represented as being large enough for immersion, the actual baptism was ministered by affusion; and with regard to confirmation, in the picture from the *Art of Good Lyvinge* the children are certainly of an age to answer for themselves, while in the representation of the sacrament of holy matrimony the woman has her hair unloosed, as she still has it in Norway at her marriage service. There are also some good pictures of chancel screens. On a few points one might part company with the author. It might be doubted, for instance, whether the crucifix was in such frequent use as he seems to imply, or whether roods were placed on the rood-loft. Surely the rood —whether cross or crucifix—commonly stood on a beam of its own above the loft. There are also not a few repetitions. But the book is helpful as giving a really good account of the working of the Mediæval Parish Church at its best, and it is provided with a satisfactory index.

HOW TO JUDGE ARCHITECTURE. A popular guide to the appreciation of buildings. By RUSSELL STURGIS, A.M. New York: THE BAKER AND TAYLOR CO.

THIS book covers a period of time extending from the date of the erection of the Temple of Pæstum to that of Truro Cathedral, and ranges in space from Gerasa in Syria, to St. Paul on the Mississippi. It is evidently intended for the use of folk who will travel rapidly from point to point, and who desire to have an intelligent understanding of the buildings that they see. The size of the book, only about two hundred pages of large print, forbids, of course, any detailed account of the history of architecture, or even of the special peculiarities of the buildings which are mentioned; but the book is likely to be a really helpful one to those for whose use it is designed. In the first place it is well illustrated. There are sixty-six pictures, for the most part evidently taken from photographs, showing buildings of such varied types as the Parthenon, St. Peter's at Rome, English and continental Gothic churches, Belgian and German secular buildings, French châteaux, Italian palaces, a Berlin beershop, and an American insurance office; and this wealth of illustration is most helpful, for the subjects are well chosen, and the pictures are very clear and give an excellent idea of the buildings represented. The heads under which the subject is treated are these: early Greek design, later Greek and Roman design, early central and late mediæval design, early and later revived classic design, eighteenth century design and nineteenth century design, both imitative and original, thus covering the whole development of classic, Gothic and Renaissance architecture in Western Christendom. The book is well written, and is likely to be very useful to those for whom it is designed, and in any case it will be of service to those who desire to know something of the different types of architecture, even though they may not stray far from home. There is a good and well-arranged index.

A GUIDE TO THE EARLY CHRISTIAN AND BYZANTINE ANTIQUITIES IN THE BRITISH MUSEUM. Printed by order of the Trustees, 1903.

SOME time since notice was drawn to the valuable guides to stone, bronze, and iron implements in the museum collection, and the present guide is equally useful with regard to the subjects with which it deals.

There is a real want of a short illustrated book giving an account of the early Christian Church as it was, and not simply as it seems to be as viewed through somebody's tinted spectacles; and this little book goes far to supply the need. It is provided with fifteen plates, and eighty-four illustrations in the text, which are well executed, and so chosen as to draw out the meaning of the text. Naturally it is not possible in the space of one hundred pages to go very deeply into an account of the subjects which are treated, but the book is an excellent shilling's worth, and might well be placed in the hands of any who are likely to be interested in the subject.

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Erratum, Vol. XXVIII., p. 96, see p. xiii.

J. W. Arrowsmith, Printer, Quay Street, Bristol.

ERRATUM, Vol. XXVIII., pp. 96, 97.

Heraldry of Stephens.

Paragraph 8.—"Party per chevron, argent and azure, in chief two falcons rising or," for Stephens. I very much doubt the panel and coat being painted, but if it was such as the blazon, it is false, as the falcons would be metal on metal. The true Stephens is "Party per chevron azure and argent," &c., and as the first may be quoted it is better to correct it properly in each copy. This must have escaped notice.

Paragraph 9.—Judging by the heraldry the tomb is that of Edward Stephens. The arms are the family coat, and so along with the effigy may be Edward's; but the arms of my note on p. 96 would say that they were his son's, Richard, who is stated to have married, secondly, Anne Kerry, widow, though the *Gloucester Visitation*, 1682, p. 175, says it was Edward's grandson Nathaniel that married Anne Kerry. Most probably either the son or grandson erected the tomb.

Note to p. 98, paragraph 8.—"An eagle displayed in the first quarter" is what Rudder says. This is wrong, as it is in sinister chief, which, although Bigland does not say so in his blazon, his engraving plainly shows. There is one great peculiarity about the charge; the head of the eagle is sinisterways, which is not common except in a double-headed one. Can it have been sculptured from the matrix of a seal? Again, line 24, "Three eagles." I only mentioned the fact that Edmondson gave three eagles, but then these were "on a bend," which if it was painted would be a bend sinister.

Erratum.

It seems to be more allied to the false coat in Bristol Cathedral east window, where on a dexter quarter argent is an eagle displayed or, which Leversage, p. 21, quotes as being identical with the Minchin Hampton tomb. I am inclined to think that it is quite possible that when the window was restored in 1847 this shield might have been reversed, and plain glass inserted instead of what most probably was an ermine field, when the blazon would be, "Gules on a sinister quarter (or canton) ermine an eagle displayed sinisterways or." No De la Mere coat like this seems to be known, but this would make it a true one.

F. WERE.

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